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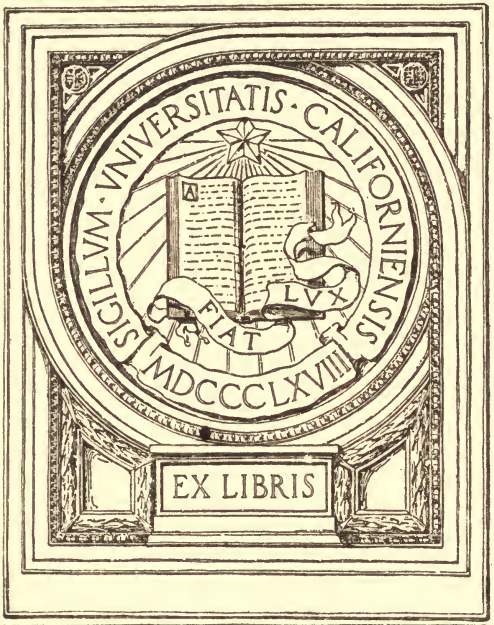

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MARION DEXTER LEARNED

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(*See List at the End of the Book*)

WHITTIER'S RELATION TO GERMAN LIFE AND THOUGHT

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

By

IOLA KAY EASTBURN

Americana Germanica

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TO MY PARENTS

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PREFACE.

Although Whittier had a very meagre education as a boy, and spent practically all his life within a few miles of his birthplace,[1] yet he was a man of wide interests and wide reading; and though prevented by ill health from traveling either in this country or abroad, he saw and knew other lands through books of travel and the letters of his friends.

His position as editor[2] of various papers, and his active interest in politics,[3] and in all questions of reform, brought him into touch with the first thinkers of the day both at home and abroad.

Whittier is above all a poet of New England, of the people, and of the anti-slavery movement. Although he does not know the literature[4] of other countries at first hand as do Longfellow and other of the New England poets, he enjoyed it as much as possible through translations. When one goes through Whittier's works carefully, one is surprised at the extent of his knowledge and interest in all subjects. He counted amongst his friends, the poet Longfellow and knew his translations; he also knew personally the translator Charles C. Brooks, of Salem, Mass., the Rev. Thomas Tracy, of Newburyport, Mass., and other translators, and their works. Between Bayard Taylor and our poet there was a close life-long friendship. He was also in close touch

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[1] John Greenleaf Whittier was born December 17, 1807, on a farm near Haverhill, Essex County, Mass., and in 1836 moved with his mother and sister to Amesbury, Mass. He died September 7, 1892.

[2] 1829, Whittier edited the *American Manufacturer* in Boston; 1830, the *Haverhill Gazette;* 1830-1831, *New England Review* in Hartford; 1836, *Essex Gazette*, Haverhill, Mass.; 1838-1840, the *Pennsylvania Freeman* in Philadelphia; 1844, the *Middlesex Standard* in Lowell; 1847-1860, corresponding editor of the Washington *National Era*. Besides editing these papers, he contributed to numerous other periodicals, chief among which were: Garrison's *Liberator*, the *Democratic Review* of Washington and the *Atlantic Monthly*.

[3] Whittier became a member of the State Legislature of Massachusetts in 1835. His health, however, did not permit him to hold an important political office and he had to decline a nomination to Congress by the Liberal Party in 1842.

[4] Though he gained a little knowledge of French at the Haverhill Academy, he did not take up German. His only attempt at using German is in an unpublished letter to James T. Fields, Amesbury, 1st mo. 1, 1883, "Wo ist Peter Grimm? Where's the Hermits? I am sorry the book is not out, and as Toots says in 'Dombey and Son', 'It's of no sort of consequence'."

with Dr. Carl Follen of Harvard University, and a number of other German refugees, who undoubtedly brought him more or less into touch with German life and thought.

Both in the library at his home in Amesbury, Mass., and in his study at Oak Knoll, are many books[5] translated from the German and other languages; and in many cases presentation copies from the translators themselves. As many of Whittier's books were given after his death to friends, and many more sold in Literary Auction sales by Anderson & Co., New York, and others, there were doubtless in his original library very many more books of the same type.

Whittier's poems inspired by German themes are: Translation of Erlkönig, 1840; To Ronge, 1846; The Angel of Patience, 1847; Tauler, 1853; Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, 1861; The Vision of Echard, 1878; The Mystics Christmas, 1882; The Two Elizabeths, 1885; The Brown Dwarf of Rügen, 1888.

German American subjects: Expostulation, 1834; To Ritner, 1837; To Follen, 1842; Gobbler Keezar's Vision, 1861; Barbara Fritchie, 1863; The Palatine, 1867; The Pennsylvania Pilgrim, 1872; The Hymn of the Dunkers, 1877; Bayard Taylor, 1879.

He was interested also in the literature and history of other countries, as his poems and prose articles on French, Italian, Scandinavian and Eastern themes show.

In writing this book I have not tried to prove any strong German influence upon Whittier, as this does not exist, but only to show how far he was touched by it and especially his interest in the Germans with whom he came in contact here at home, because of their common sympathies in reform movements, and especially on the anti-slavery question.

I have gone carefully over all the newspapers of which Whittier was for a time editor, and those to which he contributed. It was not possible to get hold of all his unpublished letters, as many are in the hands of friends who consider them too personal for publication; but as far as possible I have consulted these letters, and have published the parts which bear upon my subject.

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[5] See Appendix for list of these books.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, who suggested the subject to me, and whose encouragement and help have been invaluable; also to Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, of Amesbury, Mass.; Mr. John G. Moulten, Librarian of the Public Library, Haverhill, Mass.; Mr. T. Franklin Currier, of the Harvard Library; Mr. Charles Jenkins, Germantown, Pa.; Mr. William A. Speck, of Yale University; and to Dr. R. W. Drechsler, of the Amerika-Institut, Berlin, for their kind assistance in my work.

WHITTIER'S RELATION TO GERMAN LIFE AND THOUGHT.

CHAPTER I.

Whittier and the Germans in America.

The political refugees who came to this country from Germany, became interested, naturally, in their new fatherland, in the question of freedom for all men, regardless of color. It was this, especially, that brought the poet of anti-slavery into close touch with the liberty loving sons of Germany.

Dr. Karl Follen.

Chief amongst these German friends of Whittier was Dr. Karl Follen of Harvard University.

Follen and Whittier served together on committees at anti-slavery conventions and were brought thus into close touch with each other.

Dr. Follen was the inspiration for two poems: *Expostulation,* 1834, and *Follen,* 1842. *Expostulation* appeared first in *The Liberator* of September 13, 1834, and was entitled *Stanzas.* Later it was published under the title of *Follen* and finally with its present title. Whittier prefixed the following note[6] to the poem:

"Dr. Charles Follen, a German patriot, who had come to America for the freedom which was denied him in his native land, allied himself with the abolitionists, and at a convention of delegates from all the anti-slavery organizations in New England, held at Boston in May, 1834, was chairman of a committee[7] to prepare an address to the people of New England. Toward the close of the address occurred the passage which suggested these lines:

[6] See Poems, Camb. Ed., page 267.

[7] A pamphlet, containing the address in which these words occur, was published by Garrison and Knapp, Boston, 1834. Whittier's and Follen's names are signed as members of the committee.

" 'The despotism which our fathers could not bear in their native country is expiring, and the sword of justice in her reformed hands has applied its exterminating edge to slavery. Shall the United States—the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a king—cradle the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness than a kingdom in its age?'—*Dr. Follen's Address.*"

This poem is one of Whittier's most passionate outbursts against the system of slavery, written when he was first entering upon his work in the cause of the slave. It was very popular with the anti-slavery orators and recited by them with great effect at their meetings.[8] The seventh stanza refers to Prussia's attitude toward slavery:

"Oh, say, shall Prussia's banner be
A refuge for the stricken slave?"

An unpublished letter[9] from Whittier, dated Haverhill, 2nd, 3rd mo., 1836, and written to George S. Hillard, contains the following message to Dr. Follen and his wife:

"Should thee see Dr. Follen & his excellent lady soon, remember me kindly to them."

The Narrative of James Williams, An American Slave, published 1838, by the American Anti-Slavery Society, was written by Whittier anonymously in the home of Mr. John W. Hill, of New York, where he was staying with Dr. Follen and a friend of the latter.

A note to the preface by the author says: "The reader is referred to John G. Whittier, of Amesbury, Mass., or to the following gentlemen, who have heard the whole or a part of his story from his own lips: Emnor Kimber, of Kimberton, Pa.; Lindley Coates, of Lancaster County, Pa.; James Mott, of Phila-

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[8] S. T. Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier.* Page 142.

[9] This letter is in the collection of MSS of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

delphia; Lewis Tappan, Elizur Wright, Jr., Rev. Dr. Follen and James G. Birney, of New York."

This preface was signed New York, 24th of 1st mo., 1838. Whittier was supposed to be the author, but the fact was not established until 1886. A friend wrote to him in regard to it and an unpublished letter[10] contains the following reply: "I think the story of my writing the life of an escaped slave—James Williams—at Friend Hill's in Water Street, New York, is correct. Professor Follen of Harvard University and a friend of his, an Italian patriot refugee, were with me. I remember the latter drew the slave's portrait. I think this was in the summer of 1837. I was afterwards at Friend Hill's with my sister on my way from Philadelphia."

Follen's views upon *The Future State* were published in *The Christian Examiner* for January, March and June, 1830. These articles were the foundation of a second poem from Whittier. In the head-note,[11] he says:

"On reading his (Follen's) essay on the 'Future State'."

"Charles Follen, one of the noblest contributions of Germany to American citizenship, was at an early age driven from his professorship in the University of Jena, and compelled to seek shelter in Switzerland from official persecution on account of his liberal opinions. He became Professor of Civil Law in the University of Basle. The governments of Prussia, Austria, and Russia united in demanding his delivery as a political offender; and, in consequence, he left Switzerland, and came to the United States.

"At the time of the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society he was a professor in Harvard University, honored for his genius, learning, and estimable character. His love of liberty and hatred of oppression led him to seek an interview with Garrison and express his sympathy with him. Soon after, he attended a meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. An able speech was made by Rev. A. A. Phelps, and a letter of mine addressed

[10] This letter was sold at auction by the Anderson Auction Company, New York, in 1909, and bought by the Haverhill Public Library, Haverhill, Mass., where the MS may now be found.

[11] Cambridge edition of Whittier's Poems, page 175.

to the Secretary of the Society was read. Whereupon he rose and stated that his views were in unison with those of the Society, and that after hearing the speech and the letter, he was ready to join it, and abide the probable consequences of such an unpopular act. He lost by so doing his professorship. He was an able member of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He perished in the ill-fated steamer "Lexington", which was burned on its passage from New York, January 13, 1840. The few writings left behind him show him to have been a profound thinker of rare spiritual insight."

The poem first appeared in *The Democratic Review* for September, 1842, without this note.[12]

Whittier pays a high tribute to their friendship in these verses, which remind us somewhat of Tennyson's "In Memoriam".

1st stanza:

"Friend of my soul! as with moist eye
I look up from this page of thine,
Is it a dream that thou art nigh,
Thy mild face gazing into mine?"

10th stanza:

"Thou livest Follen! not in vain
Hath thy fine spirit meekly borne
The burden of Life's cross of pain,
And the thorned crown of suffering worn."

15th stanza:

" 'Tis something to a heart like mine
To think of thee as living yet;
To feel that such a light as thine
Could not in utter darkness set."

In an unpublished letter[13] to his friend Thomas Tracy, 6th mo., 12th, 1842, Whittier says of Follen: "How vividly the narrative calls him back to me! I bless God that I knew that man."

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[12] In 1888, Whittier supervised the preparation of a collective edition of his writings, which was published in seven volumes, under the title of the *Riverside Edition*. For this edition, the poet furnished Introductions and Notes.

[13] This letter was sold in 1911 by C. F. Libbie & Company, of Boston, in an auction sale of literary property from the private library of Josiah Dwight Whitney, of Harvard. Since Libbie & Company refuse to give the names

In the book of selections for children[14] which Whittier edited in 1871 are two selections by Mrs. Follen: *Stop, Stop, Pretty Water*[15] and *The New Moon.*[16]

He shows his appreciation of Follen in an article, *The City of a Day,*[17] in his prose works:

"The population of Lowell is constituted mainly of New Englanders; but there are representatives here of almost every part of the civilized world. . . . The blue-eyed, fair-haired German from the towered hills which overlook the Rhine,—slow, heavy, and unpromising in his exterior, yet of the same mould and mettle of the men who rallied for their 'fatherland' at the Tyrtean call of Körner and beat back the chivalry of France from the banks of the Katzbach,—the countrymen of Richter and Goethe, and our own Follen. Here, too, are peddlers from Hamburg, and Bavaria, and Poland, with their sharp Jewish faces, and black, keen eyes. At this moment, beneath my window are two sturdy, sunbrowned Swiss maidens grinding music for a livelihood, rehearsing in a strange Yankee land the simple songs of their old mountain home, reminding me, by their foreign garb and language of

'Lauterbrunnen's peasant girl'."

The National Era, July 28, 1853, has an article by Whittier entitled *Der National Demokrat,* in which he welcomes the sheet and pays tribute to Follen. The article is here given in full, as it shows Whittier's interest in the German publication:

DER NATIONAL DEMOKRAT.

"The first number of this elegant sheet has made its appearance, and ere this, has found its way to every section of the country

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of their customers, I have been unable to find in whose hands the letter now is.

[14] *Child Life,* edited by J. G. Whittier. Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

[15] *Child Life,* page 55

[16] *Child Life,* page 143.

[17] Prose Works, Riverside Edition, Vol. 1, page 356. This appeared as a series under the title, *The Stranger in Lowell,* in various numbers of the Middlesex Standard, published at Lowell, Mass., beginning with August 1, 1844. The article, in which this quotation is contained, is in the number of August 8, 1844.

where the German emigrant has set up his household tabernacle. We cannot but hope that it has met with a hearty welcome from thousands of our adopted countrymen of the good old Teutonic stock. The great majority of them voted at the late Presidential election for the candidates of the party calling itself Democratic, under the mistaken impression that in so doing they were subserving the cause of freedom not only here, but in Europe. The tone of the administrative organs at Washington and elsewhere, on the subject of our foreign policy, and their undisguised sympathies with Russian despotism, must now, we think, fully satisfy every liberty loving German, that the oppressed millions of Europe have nothing to hope from the principles or practice of a party, pledged to the support and perpetuity of slavery in the United States.

"Many years ago the lamented Dr. Follen conferred with us in relation to the publication of papers and tracts in the German language, showing the character of American slavery and the inconsistency of its support or countenance on the part of men exiled from the old world for the love of freedom and hatred of oppression. We are glad to see the project of this clear-sighted and warm hearted man realized in the publication of the *National Demokrat,* only lamenting that its columns cannot be enriched by the productions of his vigorous pen in elucidation or defense of the Democracy of Christianity.

"And in this connection, we cannot but express our satisfaction, in view of the fact that the addition of the *Demokrat* is not disposed to aid the conspiracy of kings and priests, and make religion the ally of despotism. The great Formulator of Christianity promulgated the principles of a Democracy more radical than has yet been practiced by His professed disciples. The New Testament is the text book of freedom, and when this truth comes to be fully comprehended by the people, there will be an end to tyrants and their priestly allies on both sides of the Atlantic. If we mistake not, there is a large number of our German fellow-citizens to whom such a paper as the *Demokrat* will be especially serviceable, in enabling them to discriminate between the Gospel of Liberty and Humanity, and that detestable system

which mockery and king-craft have substituted for it. As a matter of course, infidelity to such a system is the first and necessary step towards fidelity to the truth, in its simplicity and purity. But that truth is not a mere negation of error, it is affirmative of progress and reform—it is revolutionary and aggressive. It will 'turn and overturn, until He whose right it is shall reign'. Eighteen centuries ago the voice of Him who spake as never man spake, uttered in the synagogue of Nazareth the prophecy of the inspired Hebrew poet. 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovering the sight to the blind, and to set at liberty them that are bruised.' And as he closed the sacred scroll, He said: 'This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.' This was the birth-hour of Democracy. The free and holy element of Christianity entered into a world of evil to overcome that evil with good, to vindicate the brotherhood of the human family, to disclose the awful intimacy of the relation which each member of that family sustains to the Universal Father, where love and paternal care have 'no respect of persons', to smite to earth all distinctions between man and man, inconsistent with an equal participation in the blessings of life and liberty. Wherever that Gospel, in its original purity and power, has had free course, it has melted off the chains of slaves, and opened prison doors, awakening new hopes and lofty aspirations, the consciousness of an immortal nature, the knowledge of inalienable rights as the gift of God. A resurrection, indeed, of the dead—the Spirit of the Lord touching the dry bones of the valley as in the vision of Ezekiel, and clothing them with the life and strength of liberty. Herein lies the hope of reformers, European Liberals and American Abolitionists; and it argued well for its success that the *National Demokrat* has entered upon its labors with a full appreciation of this truth."

J. G. W.

Carl Schurz.

Whittier admired Carl Schurz, but Mr. Pickard doubts if the poet ever really met him. His autograph is in an album at

Amesbury, but the name was signed in the Senate Chamber at Washington.

Whittier speaks of a report of Schurz in an unpublished letter[18] to Charles Sumner, dated Amesbury, 8th, 2nd mo., 1866:

"I have to thank thee for Gen. Carl Schurz's Report. What an absurd introduction to it is the executive meeting."

In Whittier's letter,[19] written at the time of the Freiligrath Anniversary, 1877, he says: "The bells are ringing in the new Republican President Rutherford Hayes, in whose cabinet the German born Carl Schurz has a place."

Whittier in Philadelphia.

Ritner.

In 1836 Whittier's friend, Mr. Thayer, urged him to come to Philadelphia to engage in a newspaper enterprise, *The Pennsylvania Freeman.* The following letter from Whittier, Amesbury, 31st of 3rd month, 1837, shows his reasons for going to Philadelphia:

"Our friends in Boston are fully persuaded that the grand battle is now to be fought in Pennsylvania, between mobocracy (excited by the slave-holding influence of Virginia and Maryland, and by the President's outrageous and abominable sentiments expressed in his inaugural message) and the friends of liberty. One word, sub rosa: If Ritner[20] can be sustained in his own state, the entire North, save New Hampshire and Maine, would go for him for the Presidency."[21]

In 1837 Whittier went to Harrisburg as a delegate to attend the State Anti-Slavery Convention and was one of the com-

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[18] Original letter in the Harvard Library.

[19] The whole letter is quoted later in the chapter on Freiligrath.

[20] *Joseph Ritner,* a Pennsylvania German, was Governor of Pennsylvania from December 15, 1835, to January 15, 1839. His father came from Alsace and settled on a farm in Berks County, where Joseph was born March 25, 1780. From 1820-26 he was a member of the State Legislature and twice Speaker of the House. In 1835 he was elected Governor. He was one of the originators of the Pennsylvania school system; he was outspoken, not afraid to stand strongly for what he considered the best for his country and though a Jackson Democrat, did not hesitate to strongly denounce slavery in his first message in 1836.

[21] Pickard, *Life and Letters,* page 157.

mittee who drafted the constitution of the Society. A letter from Harrisburg to his sister Elizabeth, dated 3rd of 2nd month, 1837, says:

"I left Philadelphia on Seventh-day in a double sleigh with Dr. Dilwyn Parish, Charles Evans and Edward M. Davis, son-in-law of Lucretia Mott. That day we got to Coatesville, . . . The next morning we started again, passed through the large ill-looking town of Lancaster, the fine village of Mount Joy, the beautiful Friends' Meeting House of Colne and stopped all night at Middletown, about twelve miles from Harrisburg. After a fine ride of two hours along the banks of the Susquehanna and by the beautiful quarries of marble of all hues and descriptions, amidst a population of broad-faced Germans, we caught the first view of the fine bridge spanning the noble river. I spent an evening with Governor Ritner, who is a warm-hearted abolitionist. He is about sixty years of age, large and full-faced. He came to the door when we knocked, himself, shook us heartily by the hand, and in German accents told us he 'wast glad to see us'. He is very intelligent, is perfectly at home on most subjects, especially in regard to matters pertaining to abolition."[22]

"Philadelphia,
5th, 2nd mo., 1837,
at A. W. Thayers.

"We got back last night about four o'clock from Harrisburg. We stopped at Lancaster to take breakfast."

The poems that grew out of the poet's interest in the anti-slavery cause in Pennsylvania were: *Ritner,* 1837; *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim,* 1872; and *Hymn of the Dunkers,* 1878.

The poem to *Ritner*[23] appeared in *The Liberator,* March 24, 1837, entitled *Lines.* The poem has the following introduction:

"Written on reading the message of Governor Ritner, of Pennsylvania, 1836. The fact redounds to the credit and serves to perpetuate the memory of the independent farmer and high souled statesman, that he alone of all the governors of the Union

[22] *Whittier Letters,* published by John Albree, Salem, Mass., 1911, page 46.
[23] Cambridge Edition of *Whittier's Poems,* page 275.

in 1836 met the insulting demands and menaces of the South in a manner becoming a freeman and hater of slavery, in his message to the Legislature of Pennsylvania."

In the first stanza Whittier pays the highest tribute to Ritner as a man; and in the sixth stanza to his German ancestors, who first dared to take up the cause of the slave:

"Thank God for the token! one lip is still free,
One spirit untrammelled, unbending one knee!
Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,
Erect, when the multitude bends to the storm;
When traitors to Freedom, and Honor, and God,
Are bowed at an idol polluted with blood;
When the recreant North has forgotten her trust,
And the lip of her honor is low in the dust,—
Thank God that one arm from the shackle has broken!
Thank God, that one man as a freeman has spoken!"

* * * * * * *

"And that bold-hearted yeomanry, honest and true,
Who, haters of fraud, gave to labor its due;
Whose fathers, of old, sung in concert with thine.
On the banks of Swetara, the songs of the Rhine,—
The German born pilgrims, who first dared to brave
The scorn of the proud in the cause of the slave;[24]
Will the sons of such men yield the lords of the South
One brow for the brand, for the padlock one mouth?
They cater to tyrants? They rivet the chain,
Which their fathers smote off, on the negro again?"

On the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, in which the Anti-Slavery Society held its meetings, by a mob, May 17, 1838, Governor Ritner issued a proclamation denouncing the work of the mob and offering a reward for the arrest of the law breakers.

In *The Pennsylvania Freeman,* 8th mo., 2nd, 1838, of which Whittier was the editor, appeared the following:

"The late number of *The Pittsburgh Christian Witness* contains a letter from Joseph Ritner to Henry Hannan, Corresponding Secretary of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Anti-

[24] The German Friends of Germantown were the first religious body in this country to issue a protest against slavery (1688).

Slavery Society, which we publish below. A letter was also addressed to General D. R. Porter, the Democratic candidate for Governor, but who has not seen fit to answer it.

" 'Harrisburg, April 5, 1838.

" 'Sir:—The letter which you, as Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Western Division of the Anti-Slavery Society of Pennsylvania, addressed to me on the 27th ult. was received on the 3rd inst. By direction of the committee you ask me the following questions:

" '1. Is the existence of Slavery and the Slave trade in the District of Columbia in conformity to the principles of justice and humanity, and accordant with the genius and theory of our republican institution?

" '2. Does Congress possess the constitutional power to abolish Slavery and the Slave trade in the District of Columbia?

" '3. Is it expedient that Congress should exercise this right and abolish Slavery and the Slave trade in the District of Columbia?

" '4. Are you in favor of the extension of the right of jury trial to all cases involving the question of your personal liberty?

" '5. Are you opposed to the annexation of Texas to the United States?

" 'To these three inquiries I reply by referring you to my annual message to the Legislature at the commencement of the session of 1836-37 and by stating that none of the opinions therein expressed have been changed.

" 'To the fourth question my reply is that I am in favor of extending the right of trial by jury to all cases involving the question of personal liberty, with the single restriction, that in cases of fugitives from labor in other states who are admitted to be slaves, it should not be granted. This exception I believe to be due to the sister states in which domestic slavery constitutionally exists and in which however we may deplore it as a misfortune, we are bound to respect it as a constitutional institution. This exception is also inevitable from the nature of the issue involved. The question being simply one of slavery, or no slavery;

of course, whenever the fact is admitted, not only is there no need of further investigation, but it would be vexatious to the claimant to interpose the delay of a jury trial.

" 'On the other hand, in all cases in which a reasonable doubt of the fact of slavery is raised by affidavit, I would be decidedly in favor of having the doubt determined by a jury. Among us, every man accused of crime, however vile he may be, is presumed to be innocent till convicted by a jury. Shall we be less cautious in the proceedings which are to consign a fellow creature to servitude for life, than in those which will perhaps only send him to idleness for a month in the county jail?

" 'In reply to the fifth question—I am opposed to the admission of Texas, by any means, at any time, into this Union. The annexed copy of a communication sent to the Legislature on the 11th day of January last, 1838, will make known my official opinion on this subject.

" 'I am sir, your fellow citizen,

" 'JOSEPH RITNER.

" 'MR. HENRY HANNAN,

" 'Secretary, etc., Pittsburgh, Pa.

" '*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.*

" 'Gentlemen:—In accordance with the request of the Governor and Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, I have the honor to transmit for your consideration, the accompanying resolution adopted by the Legislature of that state, relative to the admission of Texas into the Union.

" 'Permit me to say that while we, as citizens of a non-slave holding state, should studiously disavow the intention and avoid the appearance of intermeddling with the institution of slavery in such states of the Union as labor under the misfortune of its existence; yet that a moral obligation rests upon us to oppose, by every constitutional means, the spread of the evil in this Union. The other dangerous consequence to be expected from the annexation of Texas, set forth in the Rhode Island resolutions, are certainly great and alarming, but this is the most serious of all. The

present is a most proper juncture for legislative and other expressions of public opinion on the subject.

" 'The project, if seriously countenanced at all in this state, has been either generally concealed or disavowed by all parties. The public mind is therefore open to sound reasoning and prepared for right action on the subject.

" 'In addition to the claim upon your attention, which the matter possesses, as coming from the Legislature of a sister state, its own grave import and the suitableness of the present time for action, seem to demand an expression of the opinion of the citizens of this state upon it, through you their representation.

" 'Executive Chamber,

" 'Harrisburg, January 11, 1838.' "

In the summer of 1839, Henry B. Stanton and John G. Whittier were sent by the American Anti-Slavery Society on a tour through Pennsylvania to employ seventy public speakers in the interests of abolition. They visited especially theological schools and other institutions of learning. One of these was the Lutheran Institution on Seminary Ridge at Gettysburg. A letter[25] to Elizabeth J. Neall, of Philadelphia, written from Carlisle, Pa., July 8, 1839, says:

"Why didn't we get the breakfast at 325 Arch, according to promise? Why for a very good reason, nay, perhaps, for *two* good reasons. 1. *We* lay abed too late. 2. Perhaps *thee* did also, and if we had called at the hour specified, and inquired for thee and the breakfast, the report in regard to both might have been '*non est inventus*'. We had hardly time as it was to get to the car office and secure our seats. We rode about two hours and stopped at a dirty Dutch tavern for breakfast. An execrable cup of tea, which would have poisoned a Chinese mandarin; ham, tough and solid as sheet iron, which had probably been smoked and salted annually for the last twenty years; and some hot cakes saturated with bad butter, greasy and heavy, and anti-Grahamish, constituted our wretched fare. It was such a 'trick upon travelers' as Yankee landlords would have been ashamed of. . . . We

[25] Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier*, pages 252-253.

got to Harrisburg about three o'clock, and stopped at the splendid hotel Wilson, on Market Street. Yesterday Stanton lectured twice, and I made some visits. This morning we spent in looking up some anti-slavery matters, and at three o'clock we again took the cars for Carlisle. Tomorrow, if nothing happens, we shall go to Governor Ritner's, and from thence we shall push on to Gettysburg in search of some one or more lecturers to talk Dutch Abolition. We have been recommended to some half dozen Schloshen-burgers, and Quakenbosches, and Kakerspergers, and Slambangers, with unpronounceable Dutch names enough to crack the jaws of any Anglo-Saxon, whom we hope to interest in our cause. We must get the Germans with us, by some means or other. These middle countries are full of Germans, and they are on this subject 'thrice dead and plucked up by the roots'. They must be roused up by all events.

"9th, Third-day morning. We have just returned from a ride to Governor Ritner's farm, about nine miles from Carlisle. The old man was out on his farm, and his wife and daughters welcomed us with great hospitality. The Governor soon came in in his working dress. We stayed about one hour and a half, and then rode back to Carlisle, where we now are. This afternoon we start for Chambersburg and Gettysburg."

In the number, July 25, 1844, of *The Middlesex Standard,* published at Lowell, Mass., of which Whittier was editor, is the following editorial:

"*Governor Ritner*—Our neighbor of *The Advertiser* states on the authority of a Pittsburg, Pa. paper that Hon. J. Ritner, late Governor of Pennsylvania, and Hon. T. H. Burrows and Judge Todd, two of the most prominent men in Governor Ritner's administration, have declared their determination not to vote for Henry Clay.

"Our neighbor does not say that the Governor and his friends are prepared to vote for 'Polk and Texas'. He only leaves his readers to draw such an inference. That Governor Ritner, and the two gentlemen alluded to, have signified their opposition to Henry Clay, does not surprise us—knowing as we do their strong anti-slavery tendencies. But the editor of *The Advertiser* may

rest assured that, after renouncing Clay on the ground of slave holding, they will not go over to 'Polk and Texas'. They will take their stand with the Liberty Party, for Birney and Morris.

"In 1839 we spent an hour or two with Governor Ritner at his residence near Carlisle. We found him in the field, hard at work with coat off and shirt sleeves rolled up,—a fine manly specimen of an intelligent and independent farmer. He entered into conversation, with great freedom on the subject of slavery, and avowed himself an uncompromising friend to the slave. We should rejoice to welcome such a man into the ranks of Liberty, but we confess that we have strong fears that he will be induced, like Cassius M. Clay, to vote for a slave holder 'this time'. Thomas H. Burrows, we are persuaded, will not vote for Henry Clay."

In the number of August 8th, of the same year, is the following in the editor's column:

"*Governor Ritner*—The Whig papers say that Governor Ritner will not vote for Polk, and that he will not oppose Clay. Will he vote for him?"

In the article in his prose works entitled *The City of a Day,*[26] Whittier refers to his trips through Pennsylvania among the Germans and gives an account of an odd, old character amongst them, named Etzler.

In a visit to Massachusetts in the autumn of 1838 he wrote in the album of Mary Pillsbury, of West Newbury, these lines:

"Think of me then as one who keeps,
Where Delaware's broad current sweeps,
And down its rugged limestone bed
The Schuylkill's arrowy flight is sped,
Deep in his heart the scenes which grace
And glorify his 'native place',
Loves every spot to childhood dear,
And leaves his heart 'untraveled' here;
Longs midst the Dutchman's[27] kraut and greens
For pumpkin-pie and pork and beans."[27a]

[26] *Prose Works of J. G. Whittier,* Riverside Edition, Vol. 1, pages 353-4.

[27] Whittier means "Pennsylvania Germans", who are erroneously called "Penna. Dutch".

[27a] Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 242.

The Pennsylvania Freeman.

Whittier edited this periodical from March 15, 1838, until February 20, 1840, when ill-health forced him to resign and return to New England.

From time to time, articles on the anti-slavery movement among the Germans, appeared in its columns, mostly accompanied by remarks from the editor.

For the dedication of Pennsylvania Hall, May 15, 1838, Whittier wrote a poem[28] which was read by C. C. Burleigh and which appeared in *The Pennsylvania Freeman,* Fifth day, Fifth month, 1838. The following lines again pay high tribute to the German settlers of Germantown, Pa., in their stand against slavery:

"Is it a dream, that with their eyes of love,
They gaze now on us from the bowers above?
Lay's ardent soul, and Benezet the mild,
Steadfast in faith, yet gentle as a child,
Meek-hearted Woolman, and that brother band,
The sorrowing exiles from their 'Fatherland',
Leaving their homes in Kriesheim's bowers of vine,
And the blue beauty of their glorious Rhine,
To seek amidst our solemn depths of wood
Freedom from man, and holy peace with God;
Who first of all their testimonial gave
Against the oppressor, for the outcast slave,
Is it a dream that such as these look down,
And with their blessing our rejoicings crown?"

In the number for 5th day, 7th mo., 1838, appeared a letter of Dr. Schmucker, President of Gettysburg College. The following editorial note explains the nature of the letter:

"We give below from *The Colonization Herald* the letter of Dr. Schmucker,[29] President of the Gettysburg College, declining to act as Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Colonization

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[28] Cambridge Edition of Poems of Whittier, page 279.

[29] Dr. Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873), son of Johann Georg Schmucker, born in Hesse-Darmstadt, 1771. Samuel graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1817, studied divinity at Princeton and was Lutheran pastor at New Market, Va., 1820-26. Together with his father, he was one of

Society. We trust the name of the able and learned writer will ere long be ranged with those of the Smiths and Birneys, and Delavans, and Notts, who have not only abandoned Colonization, but have given their influence to the American Anti-Slavery Society."

In the issue of the paper for 7th mo., 5th, 1838, are given the resolutions against anti-slavery passed by the Franckean Lutheran Synod "convened in Onandaga County, New York".

In the edition of *The Freeman* for 7th mo., 5, 1838, appeared an interesting article on the German Settlement of Zoar, Ohio, copied from *The Cincinnati Daily Gazette.*

Pennsylvania Freeman, 5th day, 11th mo., 15, 1838.

German Publications.

"A neat pamphlet of eight pages entitled *What is Abolition?* will be published this week in the German language from the press of our friend C. F. Stollmeyer, editor of *The German National Gazette* in this city. It will be followed by *The Extra Pennsylvania Freeman* and other publications."

Similar notices appeared from time to time in the columns of the paper.

In the *Pennsylvania Freeman,* 5th day, 11th mo., 22, 1838, is a notice from the *Kent Bugle* of German emigration to the Eastern shore of Maryland, and of the benefit to be derived from their location there.

Pennsylvania Freeman, 5th day, 12th mo., 20, 1838.

Extract From an Article on: The Cause in Eastern Pennsylvania.

"The demand for anti-slavery publications is rapidly increasing. Four thousand copies of the first of a series of tracts in German, entitled *What is Abolition?* have been distributed, and another, of twelve pages, on *The Moral Condition of the Slaves,*

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the founders of the Lutheran Synod in 1820, and of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg in 1826. He taught at Gettysburg till 1830 and was its president till 1864. He exerted a great influence on the community, which was almost entirely German.

has just been issued from the press. Our friends in Berks, Lancaster, Dauphin, and Bucks, will, we trust, send in their orders immediately, and supply their German neighbors."

Pennsylvania Freeman, 5th day, 2nd mo., 14, 1839.

Extract From a Letter From the Editor.

Boston, 2nd mo., 4, 1839.

"The cause of the slave is safe in Massachusetts, safe as that of the reformation when Luther disagreed with Melancthon and the less ardent reformers." . . . Our friends here look to Pennsylvania as the theatre of the greatest struggle for the ascendancy of abolition principles in the free states."

Pennsylvania Freeman, 5th day, 2nd mo., 28, 1839.

"We have received an interesting letter from our friend C. F. Stollmeyer, who has undertaken the good work of lecturing in favor of abolition, in the German language. It is dated Doylestown, February 19th. He mentions a meeting which is attended at a schoolhouse in Rock Hill, Bucks County, for free discussion in the German tongue, on the question, whether slavery in the United States is beneficial or not. The house was crowded, about two hundred persons being present. Three judges were selected, Messrs. Jacob Appenzeller, John Hendrick, and Abraham Fretz; the latter being one of the County Commissioners. Mr. Stollmeyer addressed the audience five times in reply to the arguments in favor of the advantages of slavery, after which the judge retired, consulted and reported their unanimous opinion, that slavery is pernicious to the United States, and that its abolition would be a benefit. All who were assembled cheered this report and much gratification was expressed with the discussion. Says our friend, Stollmeyer, 'I hardly remember to have felt such real pleasure as on that evening. I saw what I predicted, that the Germans in the interior of this state have sound and honest feelings, and will not oppose the labors of the abolitionists.'

"He remarks that those who took the side that slavery was beneficial, declined to maintain that it was morally justifiable.

"Mr. Stollmeyer applied for the use of the Mennonist Meeting House in Doylestown. Several trustees appeared willing that it should be had, but two clergymen speakers believed that such a lecture would not be fit for their church. We regret that such a disposition should exist among preachers of a society which we have always understood to be opposed to slavery."

Pennsylvania Freeman, 3rd mo., 14, 1839.

From the Editorial Column.

"We happened to be in one of our public reading-rooms a few days since, when an intelligent German of this city came in with his friend who had recently arrived from Europe. The latter in looking over a file of Georgia papers, and seeing several advertisements of men for sale, with the usual prints accompanying them, turned to his friend and exclaimed, 'Is it possible that you sell men in this country?' He had fled from despotism and came here to find the home of freedom, and an advertisement of men for sale, as cattle are advertised in his native country, was a thing unexpected and strange."

Pennsylvania Freeman, 8th mo., 11, 1838.

In a long editorial where the announcement is made that the editor is back again at his post after his absence, and discussing the situation in Pennsylvania and New England, he makes use of the following illustration:

"There is a passage in one of Calvin's letters to Melancthon, written at a period when the fierce divisions of the Protestant Reformers furnished the strongest argument against them, which is especially deserving of the attention of abolitionists of present day. 'It is important,' says he, 'that no suspicion of the divisions which are amongst us, should descend to future ages. For it would be ridiculous beyond imagination that after having broken with all the world, we should from the beginning of the Reformation agree so ill among ourselves.' "

Pennsylvania Freeman, 5th day, 7th mo., 25, 1839.

"The following able article is from the pen of C. F. Stollmeyer, Esq., editor of *The German National Gazette,* and was published in his paper of the 20th inst. It has been translated for the *Freeman.* The letters of the patriotic martyr to the cause of German liberty, from the cells of a despot's prison, cannot but have an influence upon every German heart, which feels an interest in the freedom and welfare of the 'Fatherland'.

"'*A Voice From Germany.*

"'*G. Seidensticker's Views of American Slavery.*

"'Most of our readers are acquainted with the life and history of Seidensticker, one of the martyrs of German liberty. They know that since the deplorable days of the Hanoverian revolution in January, 1831, he has lingered in the prisons of Celle, although his crime and that of his friends is no other than to have desired what the signers of the North American Declaration of Independence achieved in Political Liberty for their Fatherland.

"'During the revolution in Göttingen, we had the pleasure of enjoying much of his society; we always found him an amiable friend, and a man fired with the enthusiasm for liberty and republican institutions, a man whom no obstacle could deter, and who never lost sight of the realization of his projects and the performance of his duty. Often, when the courage of his friends began to fail, and doubts were expressed as to the possible success of the undertaking, we have seen him point to America and place before our eyes the combats and victories of the former colonies. Alas, he has been disappointed; for, cut off from our friends and those who shared our opinions in other parts of Hanover, without assistance from Brunswick and Hesse, we were obliged to yield to force. Many of our friends found safety in flight and protection in foreign lands, but Eggerling and Seidensticker, the most active members of the Republican party, were taken and thrust into dungeons.

" 'All the humiliations which they have suffered during an inquisitorial examination and an imprisonment of eight years in Celle, have not been able to crush their bold spirits, or close their hearts against the misfortunes of others.

" 'Forgetting his own suffering, Seidensticker remembers the misery of the oppressed slaves, and says in his letter, written in prison:

" ' "Warmed as I feel with sympathy, every time that such men as Mr. Slade, deputy from Vermont, raise their voices for the abolition of slavery, this stain of infamy upon the United States; yet the interest in American institutions and the confidence in their advantages must be considerably diminished, nay the feelings of every philanthropist must be outraged, when we read speeches, such as that of Mr. Calhoun, in the Senate, and those of the deputies Wise and Legare, for Virginia and South Carolina; but above all that of Mr. Campbell, who carried his insolence so far as to threaten a dissolution of the Union if the subject of emancipation should ever be alluded to again. A conduct so base should properly be treated as high treason against the honor of the Union. How much better has England acted toward those of her colonies where slavery was still in existence."

" 'The editor of the *Alte und Neue Welt,* who gives an extract from the above letter, observes:

" ' "Who can deny that slavery is a stain of infamy on the United States? Would not every man of proper feeling wish to see it wiped off? What orator, who wishes to be esteemed by the good, and not to be branded before the tribunal of humanity, would prostitute his talents to the defence of a systematic continuation of slavery in the bosom of liberty?"

" 'So far we are glad to coincide with him and we are only sorry that, whilst he considers the defence of a systematic continuation of slavery unworthy of a man who does not wish to be despised by the good and branded before the tribunal of humanity, he does not recommend a systematic abolition of this stain of infamy upon the Union, but adds the following:

" ' "But in the life of nations theory is often opposed to practice, when unmatured heterogeneous powers are to be combined,

so are there in this justly far-famed land of liberty many deep-rooted evils of which slavery is, perhaps, the worst, and the most skillful gardener might not succeed in separating suddenly the diseased root from the trunk, without causing the death of the tree, which, if it does not blossom in full luxuriousness, nurtures the seed of many an excellent fruit."

" 'Mr. Ludvigh seems to believe that if the theory of the abolition of slavery (which he compares to a sick root of the trunk of liberty) was to be reduced to practice in the United States, it would cause the death of the Republic (the tree of liberty).

" 'What has brought about the fall of Sparta and the other Greek republics, as well as of proud Rome? A system of slavery and a consequent demoralization? Why has the Republic of Switzerland existed for more than five hundred years surrounded by monarchies? Because slavery, the root of demoralization and despotism has never been tolerated there. Our opinion, which is founded upon observations of the natural course of events, is, that the curing of a disease produces health, not death, as well in the body of man as in the body of the state.

" 'As an individual suffers when his body is diseased, so does the citizen suffer from the malady of the state, when wrong is publicly defended by those who are charged with the care of the state, injustice will be heaped upon injustice. The defence of slavery is followed by the refusal of the right of petitioning, a right, the violation of which overthrows the principles of the republic. The servants elected by the people, the members of Congress, refused to listen to the wishes of their constituents, and by this act of violence assumed the character of dictators. Many who used to take no notice of the events at Washington were aroused from their slumbers and perceived the threatening danger.

" 'The names of these violators of the constitution are written down in expungeable characters and in time will not escape the general branding. Already the personal and party friends of these men admit this act to have been a blunder, but it is not only a blunder but an act of villainy.

" 'But what are the best means to wipe away this stain of infamy which has been put upon us in the eyes of the world? Nothing but a recall of the Athertonian resolutions. It is the particular duty of every German citizen to do his utmost that this recall take place speedily. This is so much the more incumbent upon us, as we know more or less from experience the meaning of political oppression and how necessary it is to preserve the tender plant of liberty from blight and noxious insects. In our own political views we care more for principles than for men, as most of us prefer their business to any favors which a president or government can bestow. It is quite indifferent to us, who fills the seat of president, if we have only the security that the principle is not endangered, but preserved in its purity. The question we ought to propose at the election of officers is not,—are you a whig, a democrat or a conservative? but, do you recognize the equal rights of all men? Will you be governed by the principles of the constitution and of the declaration of independence? Is your former life a security for the performance of your promise? When the candidates have answered these questions satisfactorily, let the Democrats choose democrats, and the Whigs, whig candidates. Liberty will be preserved for there is nothing pernicious in the principles of either party. What distinguishes them is more of a personal nature, and can, when the existence of the republic is at stake, form no object of consideration.' "

Whittier refers to this letter in his Prose Works,[29a] in an Article on *William Leggett:*

"We have before us, at this time, a letter from Seidensticker, one of the leaders of the patriotic movement in behalf of German liberty in 1831. It was written from the prison of Celle, where he had been confined for eight years. The writer expresses his indignant astonishment at the speeches of John C. Calhoun, and others in Congress, on the slavery question, and deplores the disastrous influence of our great inconsistency upon the cause of freedom throughout the world—an influence which paralyzes the hands of the patriotic reformer, while it strengthens those of the

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[29a] *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, page 213.

oppressor, and deepens around the living martyrs and confessors of European democracy the cold shadow of their prisons."

A poem, (which appeared in the paper 3 mo., 10, 1841) is an example of Whittier's vivid pictures of things that he has seen only through the eyes of his friends who have travelled in Europe.

Poem to a Friend Returning From Europe.

"Rhine stream, and castle old,
Gray tower and robber hold
In the dim distance!—
Walls which the Roman laid—
Towers which to Gothic blade
Barbed spear and arrow made
Sturdy resistance."[30]

J. G. W.

BAYARD TAYLOR.

The long years of close friendship with Bayard Taylor, brought our poet perhaps into deeper touch with German literature and thought than any other single influence.

Taylor was, like Whittier, of Quaker parentage. He was of Pennsylvania German descent, having German blood in his veins from both his grandmothers. In fact his father's mother always spoke Pennsylvania German to her children.

Taylor's connection with Germany is too well known to make it necessary to recount it here. His many works on German subjects were well known to Whittier. In fact many, if not all of Taylor's works, were presented to Whittier by the author.

The friendship of the two poets had its origin in Whittier's publishing in *The National Era*[31] of August 19, 1847, and prefacing with hearty commendation, Taylor's poem, *The Norseman's Ride* from *The Democratic Review* of November, 1846, in which it had appeared anonymously. In 1848 Taylor took a holi-

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[30] This poem is included in the collected works, Camb. Ed., page 174. The wording has, however, been somewhat changed.

[31] Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 326. This article of Whittier's in the *National Era* on the *Norseman's Ride,* together with Taylor's poem, is to be found in Whittier's Prose Works, Riverside Edition, Vol. III, pages 396-400, entitled, *The Poetry of the North.*

day trip to Boston, and in a letter[32] to Mary Agnew, dated New York, October 13, 1848, he speaks of a visit to the poet Whittier.

The introductory paragraphs of Whittier's review in *The National Era* for July 4, 1850, show his delight in Taylor's tales of travel and adventure:

"When the work and care of daily life and homely duties and the weary routine of sight and sound oppress us, what a comfort, and refreshing it is, to open the charmed pages of the traveller! Our narrow, monotonous horizon breaks away all about us, five minutes suffice to take us quite out of the commonplace and familiar regions of our experience; we are in the court of the great Kahn . . . taking part in a holy fete at Rome, and a merry Christmas at Berlin."

Taylor visited New England many times after this and spent many happy hours at Whittier's home in Amesbury and many letters passed between the two poets. A letter[33] from Whittier to Taylor from Amesbury, 7th mo., 15, 1860, says:

"I wish I were a better traveler; if I could keep pace with you I would join you at the mountains instead of sending this note. I travel a great deal however by proxy. I have had thee in my service for many years, very much to my satisfaction; Dr. Barth[34] has been to Timbucto for me, and Burton to Mecca; Atkinson has been doing Siberia for me. I think (if thy Marie does not object) of sending thee off to Xanadu and Kubla Khan. We have been enjoying thy friend Hans Christian Andersen's charming *Sand Hills of Jutland. The Mud King's Daughter* is almost equal to *Undine.*

In an unpublished letter[35] to James T. Fields from Whittier, dated Amesbury 6, 1st mo., 1886, he says: "Winter's down on us here in earnest. Bayard Taylor could find Lapland here, just

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[32] *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor,* by Mrs. Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, page 135.

[33] Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 429; the original letter is in possession of S. T. Pickard, Amesbury, Mass.

[34] Dr. Heinrich Barth (1824-65).—A German explorer and traveler; noted especially for his explorations in Central Africa. Mr. Pickard has misquoted the name in his *Life of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 429.

[35] Letter in possession of Mrs. James T. Fields, Boston, Mass.

at this time, without taking the trouble to follow in the tracks of *Afraja* over the Lap mountains as he tells me he intends to do."

In 1866, Whittier completed his *Tent on the Beach,* in which he says in a letter to his publisher James T. Fields, dated Amesbury, 12th mo., 28, 1866: "I have represented thee, Bayard Taylor, and myself, living a wild tent life for a few summer days on the beach, where for lack of something better I read my stories to you."[36] And to Taylor a letter dated February 1st says: "I must ask Fields to send thee the proof-sheets of the *Tent on the Beach;* and I here beg pardon for the friendly license of using thee as one of the imaginary trio on the seashore. I hope neither thee nor Marie will think I have got thee into bad company. And now, dear friend, dear to me, not on my own account alone, but on that of my dear mother and sister, who loved thee so well, may God bless and keep thee and thine during your European sojourn, and bring you safe back to the quiet of Cedarcroft."[37] With this letter Mr. Whittier enclosed a stanza from his *Last Walk in Autumn,* written in 1857, in which he had already paid a tribute to his traveller friend:

"Here too, of answering love secure,
Have I not welcomed to my hearth
The gentle pilgrim troubadour,
Whose songs have girdled half the earth;
Whose pages, like the magic mat
Whereon the Eastern lover sat,
Have borne me over Rhine-land's purple vines
And Nubia's tawny sands, and Phrygia's mountain pines."

The completed first part of *Faust* was published at Boston by Fields, Osgood & Co., 1870, a copy of which Taylor presented to his friend Whittier with the inscription on the fly-leaf:

"To John G. Whittier, with the love of his friend, Bayard Taylor, December 14, 1870."

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[36] Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 507. Original letter owned by Mrs. James T. Fields.

[37] Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 508. Original letter owned by Mrs. James T. Fields.

A letter[38] from Whittier to Taylor, dated Amesbury, 4th mo., 19, 1871, says: "I am more and more struck with thy success in the versification of *Faust,* thee has caught the very spirit and tone of the master himself."

In honor of the publication of the book, Mr. and Mrs. Fields gave a dinner to Taylor and his wife, inviting a number of their literary friends. Whittier was among the invited guests and wrote a letter[39] of thanks to Fields in which he says:

"It would be pleasant to sit down with thy special guest, my dear friend Taylor, and with others whose poetical shoestrings I hold myself unworthy to untie; the wisest of philosophers and most genial of men from Concord; the architect of the only noteworthy 'Cathedral' in the New World; and his neighbor, the far travelled explorer of Purgatory and Hell, and the scarcely less dreary Paradise of the great Italian dreamer. I would like to join with them in congratulation of our Pennsylvania Friend, who introduces to English-speaking people the great masterpiece of Teutonic literature. It seems to me that he is precisely the man of all others to do it. In the first place, though he labors under the misfortune of not having been born in sight of Boston meeting-house, he inherits from his ancestry the Quaker gift of spiritual appreciation and recognition, the belief not only in his own revelations, but in those of others. In the second place, he is a poet himself. Thirdly, he has studied man and nature in all lands and in all phases; and fourthly, he has brought himself into the closest possible association with the culture and sentiment, the intellect and the heart of the Germany of Goethe, by bringing under his roof-tree at Cedarcroft an estimable countrywoman[40] of Charlotte and Margaret, Natalie and Dorothea. The best translation of *Tasso* is that of the Quaker Wiffin, and now we have the best of Goethe from the Quaker-born Taylor. With

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[38] Original letter in possession of S. T. Pickard, Amesbury, Mass.

[39] *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor,* by Marie Hansen Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, page 543. Original letter owned by Mrs. James T. Fields.

[40] In 1887, Taylor was married to Marie Hansen, the daughter of Peter Andreas Hansen, eminent astronomer and director of the Ducal Observatory at Gotha, Germany.

something of pride therefore, I stretch out my congratulatory hand, and thank him. God bless him, or to use the words made sacred by the memory of one dear to us all, 'God bless us every one.' "

In 1872 Whittier published his *Pennsylvania Pilgrim* and sent Taylor a copy of it. A letter[41] from Taylor to Whittier, dated Gotha, Germany, December 30, 1872, says: "*The Pennsylvania Pilgrim* came to me as a Christmas gift, all the more welcome because so unexpected. I have just finished reading it, and can now return intelligent thanks for your thoughtful kindness in sending the volume so far. Yet one reading cannot exhaust the fullness of meaning and of feeling in the chief poem. I was not more attracted by the story of Pastorius (of whom I knew almost nothing) than by the warm, bright background of tolerance and mellow humanity upon which his figure is drawn. The latter is like the ground of dead gold which the early Italian painters gave to the forms of their saints, only more luminous. But, mixed with my delight in the poem from first to last, there is a feeling of surprise which I can only explain by telling you what I have been doing. Three months ago I was moved to begin a narrative poem, the conception of which had been haunting my mind for five or six years. Once begun, I could not leave the subject. I dropped all other work and by the beginning of November had finished an idyllic narrative poem of more than 2100 lines, in blank verse. The title is *Lars,* and the scene is laid partly in Norway and partly on the banks of the Delaware.

"I have brought Quaker peace and Berserker rage into conflict, and given the triumph to the former. The one bit of fact out of which the poem grew is the circumstance that there is,—or at least there was,—a small community of Friends at Arendal in Norway. The story is wholly of my own invention. Now in describing a 'silent meeting' I have expressed the same thought which I find in the *Pilgrim*—

> 'The gathered stillness multiplied
> And made intense by sympathy.'

[41] *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor,* by Marie Hansen Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, page 610.

And the conclusion of my poem is exactly the same thought, in other words, as the conclusion of yours. I will quote from my MS:

> 'Though the name of Lars
> Be never heard, the healing of the world
> Is in the nameless saints. Each separate star
> Seems nothing, but a myriad scattered stars
> Break up the night, and make it beautiful.'

It is pleasant to me to know that we have both been busy with the same, or kindred thoughts. When I sent the MS of my poem to Osgood three weeks ago, I also sent a dedicatory poem,[42] which is more than ever justified by this coincidence. I requested Osgood to let you see the MS, or the proofs, if there should be opportunity. But if any charge of plagarism is made, it will fall upon me! The absence of music, color, and external graces makes the Quaker a difficult subject for poetry, unless the latter touches only his spiritual side, which I have endeavored to do. I depend on my Norwegian characters for whatever external picturesqueness seemed to be necessary. I feel sure that there are some things in the poem which you will like, and I hope there may be nothing in it to make the dedication unwelcome. I am not ashamed to say that I cried over many passages while writing.

"The collection of materials for my Biography of Goethe goes rapidly on, but the work itself must be done slowly. I shall take my time to it, and meanwhile be able, I hope, to work out other poetic ideas which are waiting for their turn. After many wanderings of mind and fancy, I seem to have found my true field: at least I am happy in my work, as never before.

"Three weeks ago I gave a lecture here in German, on American Literature, in aid of a charitable society of women. It was my first experiment of the kind, but proved to be successful. Among other quotations I read an excellent translation of your

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[42] The poem of *Lars* was dedicated to Whittier; for this dedication see *Bayard Taylor's Poems*, Household Edition, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., page 302.

Song of the Slaves in the Desert,[43] which made a deep impression upon the audience. I have several times since then been called upon to read it in private circles.

"We shall go to Switzerland, perhaps to Italy, for two or three months, and then come back here again to my labors. If you should be able to read my *Lars* within a month after getting this, I should be glad to hear what impression it makes upon the one who was most in my mind as I wrote."

Whittier, in a letter[44] to Mrs. James T. Fields, says of Taylor's poem *Lars:*

"In regard to Bayard's poetry, I loved the man so much that I could never criticise his verse. *Lars* is his best long poem. It seems to me worthy of a place with *Hermann and Dorothea* and *Evangeline.* But what a brave worker he was."

The manuscript of Taylor's German lecture, to which he refers in the letter to Whittier, is now in the University of Pennsylvania. The reference to Whittier in the lecture is as follows:

Amerikanische Dichter und Dichtkunst.

"Nicht weit davon am Ufer des Merrimacflusses (Concord, Mass.), steht ein bescheidenes Häuschen, bewohnt seit vierzig Jahren von dem Quäkerdichter Whittier, welcher wiederholt glänzende politische Auszeichnungen ausgeschlagen hat, um seiner Muse treu zu bleiben. Aber, werden sie vielleicht fragen, sind wir Amerikaner fähig diese Enthaltsamkeit zu würdigen? Ja, antworte ich, und ganz besonders, weil solche Auszeichnung mehr gilt in einem Land, wo es keine erblichen Titel giebt. . . . Etwas abseits von Boston, in der Nähe eines kleinen Fabrikstädtchens, lebt Whittier, ein echter Quäker und ein echter Dichter. Er ist eine merkwürdige Erscheinung in unserer Literaturgeschichte. An Feuer, Kraft und Kampfesdrang stehen seine Jugendgedichte kaum denen von Körner nach. Er war ein Peter der Eremit, der den ganzen Norden zum Kreuzzug gegen die Sclaverei aufrief.

[43] This translation is by *Adolph Strodtman* and is in his *Amerikanische Anthologie,* Leipzig, page 124.

[44] The original letter is in possession of Mrs. Annie Fields, Boston Mass. The letter is dated Amesbury 27, 9 mo., but the year is not given.

Unerschrocken, unermüdet ertrug er Missachtung, Schimpf und Spott; fünfundzwanzig Jahre lang ward ihm nur von einem kleinen Kreise seiner Kampf- und Glaubensgenossen Anerkennung zu Theil, bis endlich die Macht der Sclaverei den Schritt wagte, der zu ihrem Untergang führte. Dann mit einem Male stand Whittier's Name leuchtend vor den Augen der Nation. Aber nichts vermochte ihn aus seiner Zurückgezogenheit zu ziehen. Die angebotenen Ehren lehnte er ab; Ruhm und Reichtum suchten ihn auf, änderten aber in keiner Hinsicht sein einfaches Leben. Oft habe ich unter seinem Dache geruht, oft seiner tiefen, innigen Stimme gelauscht, und in seine reine, herrliche Seele geschaut.

"Gross, schlank, mit hoher, schmaler Stirn und feurigen, dunkeln Augen, kommt er mir immer vor wie ein Araberhäuptling. Er ist jetzt vierundsechzig Jahre alt, aber die Flamme seiner Begeisterung, wenn auch ruhiger, brennt noch immer. Seine spätesten Gedichte sind seine vollkommensten, und so lang er lebt, wird er dichten.

"Besonders hat Whittier unsere Literatur durch vaterländische Balladen bereichert. Die karge Romantik unseres Küstenlandes hat er vor der Vergessenheit bewahrt. Skandinavische Vikings, französische Ritter, spanische Abenteuerer und ernste Puritaner sind in seinen Strophen verherrlicht, und durch ihn sind ihre Thaten Gemeingut des Volkes geworden. Ich muss mich wundern, dass eine Sammlung dieser Balladen nicht schon längst in deutscher Übersetzung erschienen ist. Seine Schilderungen sind höchst lebendig und malerisch, und seine Sprache hat eine seltene Melodie. Ein so echter Quäker er ist, verschwindet jede Spur des nüchternen Quäkerwesens, sobald sein Geist sich dichterisch bewegt. Ich habe nur eine Übersetzung gefunden, welche seine Lyrik genügend charakterisirt—*den Gesang der Sklaven in der Wüste.* Da das Gedicht kurz ist, werde ich es Ihnen vorelsen; das Wort Rubie, welches in dem Refrain vorkommt, ist arabisch, und bedeutet 'Mein Gott'."

Taylor speaks again of this lecture on American Literature

given by him later in *Weimar,* in a letter[45] to E. C. Stedman, dated Gotha, January 16, 1874.

"My lecture was a great triumph. It was given in the hall of the Arquebusiers, a society dating from the Middle Ages. The whole court came, Grand-Duke and Duchess, Hereditary Grand-Duke and Duchess, the two charming Princesses, and Prince Hermann, with adjutants and ladies of honor. The Grand-Duke came up to me with a mock reproach, and said: 'There's one serious fault in the lecture: you have not mentioned yourself! But come and dine with me tomorrow and we'll talk about it,' which I did. The dinner was superb; two Weimar friends of mine were invited, otherwise only the family. I assure you it gave me a thrill of pride to stand in Weimar, with the grand-children of Carl August, Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and Wieland among my auditors, and vindicate the literary achievement of America. I lashed properly the German idea of the omnipotency of money among us; recited passages from Halleck, Poe, Emerson, Bryant, and *Whittier,* and said a good word for E. C. S., R. H. S., T. B. A., and W. D. H. The lecture seems to have made considerable impression, as an account of it has since gone the rounds of most of the German papers."

For Whittier's seventieth birthday *The Literary World* published in its columns tributes from authors all over the country. Among these was a poem from Taylor called *A Friend's Greeting.*[46]

In Whittier's Prose works[47] is a fitting memorial of their friendship which was read at the Bayard Taylor memorial meeting in Tremont Temple, Boston, January 10, 1879, the year after the latter's death.[48]

The Pennsylvania Pilgrim (1872).

Whittier was no doubt led to choose the *Founder of Germantown* as the subject of so long a poem, because of the im-

[45] *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor,* by M. H. Taylor and H. E. Scudder, page 640.

[46] This poem may be found in *Taylor's Poetical Works,* Household Edition, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., page 206.

[47] Riverside Edition, Vol. II, page 281.

[48] Taylor died November 19, 1878, while serving as Minister to Germany.

portant fact, that the first protest against slavery in America came from the Germantown Friends of whom *Pastorius* was the leader.

In his long note[49] to the poem, Whittier gives as a further reason for his choosing Pastorius as theme:

"The Pilgrims of Plymouth have not lacked historian and poet. Justice has been done to their faith, courage, and self-sacrifice and to the mighty influence of their endeavors to establish righteousness on the earth. The Quaker pilgrims of Pennsylvania, seeking the same object by different means, have not been equally fortunate. The power of their testimony for truth and holiness, peace and freedom, enforced only by what Milton calls 'the irresistible might of meekness,' has been felt through two centuries in the amelioration of penal severities, the abolition of slavery, the reform of the erring, the relief of the poor and suffering,—felt, in brief, in every step of human progress. But of the men themselves, with the single exception of William Penn, scarcely anything is known. . . . Yet it must be apparent to every careful observer of the progress of American civilization that its two principal currents had their sources in the entirely opposite directions of the Puritan and Quaker colonies."

"The poet is very merciful toward the Massachusetts Puritan, when he has to bring them into contrast with these Pennsylvania Quakers, his kindness even prompting him to charge something of the intolerant temper of the Puritans to the Boston East winds, whose fretting and demoralizing influence they had to bear. The Philadelphia skies were tender and caressing."[50]

Why he gave the poem the New England title of *Pilgrim* and ignored the name of Pastorius, we know from letters which he wrote to his publisher, James R. Osgood, May 24, 1872:

"I am half inclined to think it would be best to print my poem, a part of which I showed thee, in a volume by itself. It

[49] Cambridge Edition of J. G. Whittier's *Poems*, page 519.

[50] Eulogy by Edwin D. Mead, in *Memorial of J. G. Whittier from Haverhill, Mass.*, 1893.

contains about five hundred lines, divided into verses of three lines, and with the introduction and notes will make nearly fifty pages, or about the size of *Snow Bound*. I have added a good deal to it and, I think, made it a better poem. I think honestly it is as good (if not better than) any other long poem I have written. But if thee prefer to print a larger volume, including my shorter poems, I will not insist. I shall call it *The Germantown Pilgrim*. It is now ready for the press save the addition of a few notes."[51]

In a letter to Osgood, June, 1872, Whittier says:

"Fields thinks it would be better to entitle it 'Pastorius of Pennsylvania'. I am not sure about it. He objects to the word 'Germantown'. We might call it *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim,* a rather pleasant sounding alliteration."[52] And so the poem was called.

Whittier gives in the note to the poem a sketch of Pastorius' life, also short sketches of Eleanora von Merlau, Johann Kelpius, Peter Sluyter and others. His sources for the poem, he tells us, were Professor Oswald Seidensticker's papers in *Der Deutsche Pioneer*[53] and *The Penn Monthly*. The latter, in its Book Reviews for November, 1872, mentions also as Whittier's sources the articles on *The German Mystics as American Colonists,*[54] by Robert Ellis Thompson, which also appeared in its pages.

These articles were probably about all the information that Whittier had of the German settlers of Germantown, except what he found in the writings of some of the early Quakers. The teachings of Boehme and the doctrines of the earlier mystics he undoubtedly knew better, as he had already shown his interest in them in his poem of Tauler in 1853.

The Book Review referred to above says:

"The poem has all the usual characteristic marks of Whittier's works, except that its form does not bring into play his

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[51] S. T. Pickard's *Life of J. G. Whittier,* pages 575-576.

[52] Pickard's *Life of J. G. Whittier,* note to page 576.

[53] The articles referred to appeared in *Der Deutsche Pioneer* in March, April and May, 1872, and in the *Penn Monthly* in January and February, 1872.

[54] These articles appeared in August, September and October numbers of the *Penn Monthly* for 1871.

highest power. Mr. Whittier is, above all things, a lyric poet, the greatest in America."

It praises the poem from a literary standpoint, but criticises it from the historical side as showing Pastorius' life as smooth and without hardships, as if it had been one hundred and fifty years later; as bringing Spener and Eleanore von Merlau as co-workers with Pastorius, when in reality they were more closely in sympathy with Kelpius and his followers; as describing Schumberg as a student of the Vedas a century before any European scholar was aware of their existence, and that the epithet familist as applied to the Labidist Sluyter was historically incorrect. It excuses him, however, by saying:

"But these slight blemishes are less culpable in the poet than they would be in the historian, and, as Pennsylvanians, we take the whole book[55] with thanks to the author."

We expect a poet to depart from history to suit his muse, but for some of the inaccuracies in the poem and in the notes, regarding Pastorius and Germantown, Whittier is not to blame, as many things have been brought to light on the subject of Pastorius and the Germantown settlers, by Professor Marion D. Learned of the University of Pennsylvania, Ex-Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker and others, since Professor Seidensticker wrote his papers.

The Rector of the Latin School at Windsheim, Germany, where Pastorius[56] remained until he was ready for the University, was Tobias Schumberg, who became Pastorius' life-long friend. Whittier calls him Schurmberg. This, however, is Whittier's spelling, as Seidensticker spells the name correctly.

"And learned Schurmberg, fain, at times, to look
From Talmud, Koran, Veds, and Pentateuch,
Sought out his pupil in his far-off nook,

To query with him of climatic change,
Of bird, beast, reptile, in his forest range,
Of flowers and fruits and simples new and strange.

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[55] *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim and Other Poems,* by John Greenleaf Whittier. Boston: James Osgood & Company. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1872.

[56] Francis Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, was born in

In his note, Whittier says: "At the age of seventeen he entered the University of Altdorf. He studied law at Strassburg, Basle, and Jena; and at Ratisbon, the seat of the Imperial Government, obtained a practical knowledge of international polity. Successful in all his examinations and disputations, he received the degree of Doctor of Law at Nuremberg in 1676." This Whittier has taken almost verbatim from Seidensticker. Pastorius,[57] after leaving Jena, sojourned for a time in Regensburg, where he had an opportunity to study the practice of the Imperial Code, as the Imperial diet was convened in Regensburg at that time. In 1676 he received his doctor's diploma at the University of Altdorf. This was the university for the city of Nürnberg but it was situated at Altdorf. Whittier refers to Altdorf's "Burschensong" in his poem:

"He sang not; but if sometimes tempted strong,
He hummed what seemed like Altdorf's Burschen-song,
His good wife smiled and did not count it wrong.

For well he loved his boyhood's brother band;
His memory, while he trod the New World's strand,
A double-ganger walked the Fatherland!"

The *Burschen-song,* to which Whittier refers, may have been suggested by the song which Professor Seidensticker published in *Der Deutsche Pioneer* August, 1871, with other poems of Pastorius and which begins:

"Darf man dich Corinna küssen?
So komm mein Liebchen zu mir her,
'Ich werd es wohl am besten wissen,'
Das war die Antwort ungefähr
Sie lieffe zwar und sagte: Nein!
Und gab sich doch geduldig drein."

After practicing law in Windsheim for about two years and a half, he went to Frankfurt in 1679, where he was introduced

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Sommerhausen, Germany, September 26, 1651, and died in 1719 or 1720, at Germantown, Pa.

[57] Learned's *Pastorius,* page 76.

immediately into the Spener circle. Through Dr. Spener he became tutor to von Bodeck and journeyed with him 1680-1682 through Holland, England, France, Switzerland and a part of upper Germany. Seidensticker calls him von Rodeck[58] and Whittier has of course the same spelling in his poem. He speaks of the Indian chiefs as:

"Like bronzes in his friend von Rodeck's hall."

In 1677, William Penn, in company with George Fox, Robert Barclay, and several other Friends, went to Holland and Germany and coming along the Rhine, stopped at Frankfurt. This visit of Penn made a deep impression upon the Pietistic circle in Frankfurt.[59] Eleanora von Merlau, a member of this circle, was especially enthusiastic over the meetings held by the Friends.

Whittier's reference to von Merlau in the poem is:

"As once he heard in sweet von Merlau's bowers
Fair as herself, in boyhood's happy hours,
The pious Spener read his creed in flowers."

And again:

"Or, now and then, the missive of some friend
In gray Altorf or storied Nürnberg penned,
Dropped in upon him like a guest to spend

"The night beneath his roof-tree. Mystical
The fair von Merlau spake as waters fall
And voices sound in dreams, and yet withal

"Human and sweet, as if each far, low tone,
Over the roses of her garden blown,
Brought the warm sense of beauty all her own."

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[58] "The mistake is due evidently to the rather indistinct passage in the *Beehive*, where the initial 'R' is written so close to the line that it is difficult to determine whether the initial letter in this case is 'R' or 'B'. The other occurrences of the name in the *Beehive*, and particularly in the *Res Propiae*, however, clearly show the form to be 'Bodeck'. . . . Furthermore, it has been impossible to find the name 'Rodeck' in most of the genealogical or heraldic sources, while the name 'Bodeck' is much in evidence." Learned's *Pastorius*, page 91.

[59] Learned's *Pastorius*, page 106.

In 1681, Penn was made proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania and invited his German friends in Holland[60] and along the Rhine to settle there, opening the way for a place to worship in peace in a new world. Pastorius fell in with the scheme, as the frivolous life of the old world that he had just experienced had failed to satisfy him. The result was that he was made agent with power of attorney to purchase land for the company in Pennsylvania; and in London[61] between May 8 and June 6, 1683, bought fifteen thousand acres of land for the Frankfurt Company and sailed for America June 6, 1683, landing in Philadelphia[62] August 20.

Penn issued a warrant to Pastorius for six thousand acres on the east side of the Schuylkill and this the latter divided equally between the German and Crefeld[63] settlers. The Crefelders, coming from near the borders of Holland, had low German names. Whittier refers to them in the poem:

> "Or, talking of old home scenes, Op der Graaf
> Teased the low back-log with his shodden staff,
> Till the red embers broke into a laugh."

New settlers of the various German sects along the Rhine arrived and the colony grew. There were amongst their numbers Quakers, Mennonites and Dunkers. Whittier mentions all these different sects in his poem. The Frankfurt Company, however, did not keep its promise of following its agent to the New World and Pastorius finally grew tired of the financial obligations he had assumed and sent in his resignation. In his place the company appointed Daniel Falkner, Johannes Jawert and Johannes Kelpius.[64] The latter was a dreamer and entirely

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[60] In 1833 Whittier wrote a story of this visit of Penn to Germany and Holland called *The Proselytes,* which may be found in his Prose Works, Vol. I, page 305, Riv. Ed.

[61] Learned's *Pastorius,* page 110.

[62] Learned's *Pastorius,* page 117.

[63] The Crefelders who arrived on the 6th of October were mostly Mennonites from Crefeld and did not belong to the Frankfurt Company.

[64] The cave in which Kelpius lived on the Wissahickon is still pointed out by the people of Germantown. Being slight and delicate, he could not endure the rigors of such a life and died of consumption in 1708.

unfit for such a position and did not wish to serve. He is one of the most interesting characters of the early settlers of Germantown and was known as "The Hermit of the Wissahickon". The little band of mystics to which he belonged arrived in Philadelphia in 1694 and were given a plot of ground on the ridge of the Wissahickon. They called themselves *The Contented of the God-loving Soul,*[65] but since they maintained that the sixth verse of the twelfth chapter of Revelations indicated, when properly interpreted, the near approach of the coming of Christ, the name given to them, by those who surrounded them, was *The Society of the Woman in the Wilderness.* They believed that the state of celibacy was far holier than marriage, did not believe in infant-baptism and were always wailing and looking for the millenium.

Whittier says of him:

"Or painful Kelpius from his hermit den
By Wissahickon, maddest of good men,
Dreamed o'er the Chiliast[66] dreams of Petersen.

"Deep in the woods, where the small river slid
Snake-like in shade, the Helmstadt mystic hid,
Weird as a wizard, over arts forbid,

"Reading the books of Daniel and of John,
And Behmen's Morning-Redness, through the Stone
Of Wisdom, vouchsafed to his eyes alone,

"Whereby he read what man ne'er read before,
And saw the visions man shall see no more,
Till the great angel, striding sea and shore,

"Shall bid all flesh await, on land or ships,
The warning trump of the Apocalypse,
Shattering the heavens before the dread eclipse."

Pastorius, with his learning and experience, was well fitted to be the leading man in the affairs of the community; and from the records we see that he was so regarded.

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[65] Pennypacker's *Germantown,* page 217.

[66] Chiliast is a term applied to those who believe in the millenium.

As he does not mention his joining the Society of Friends, and there seems to be no record of the fact, the question has been raised as to whether he really did join them. Whittier certainly considered him a member of the society and it seems to me he was right in his assumption, as the records were not always strictly kept in the early days. He would certainly not have been appointed a delegate from the Abington Monthly Meeting to attend the Quarterly Meeting, as he was in 1703 and in 1715, unless he had been a member of the society; nor would his children's births be recorded in the records of the Abington Monthly Meeting if this had not been the case, as none but members of the meeting are appointed delegates or have births recorded in meeting records. From his interest in the doctrines of Boehme and Spener, it was not a very great change to that of the Friends, as the two have many things in common. Especially close were the resemblance between the beliefs of the Friends and many of the teachings of Boehme. They both believed in following the guidance of the Inner Light, in simplicity of life, and in inspiration. Many of the early Quakers had read translations of Boehme's *Morgenröthe* and were influenced by it. Behmen is the name by which he is known to many of the English readers and Whittier uses this form of the name.

Of Pastorius' faith Whittier says:

"I sing the blue-eyed German Spener taught,
Through whose veiled, mystic faith the Inward light,
Steady and still, an easy brightness, shone,
Transfiguring all things in its radiance white.

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"For, by the lore of Gorlitz' gentle sage,
With the mild mystics of his dreamy age
He read the herbal signs of nature's page,

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"Yet not less, when once the vision passed,
He held the plain and sober maxims fast
Of the dear Friends with whom his lot was cast.

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"And evermore, beneath this outward sense,
And through the common sequence of events,
He felt the guiding hand of Providence

"Reach out of space. A Voice spake in his ear,
And lo! all other voices far and near
Died at that whisper, full of meanings clear.

"The Light of Life shone round him; one by one
The wandering lights, that all-misleading run,
Went out like candles paling in the sun.

"That Light he followed, step by step, wher'er
It led, as in the vision of the seer
The wheels moved as the spirit in the clear

"And terrible crystal moved, with all their eyes
Watching the living splendor sink or rise
Its will their will, knowing no otherwise.

"Within himself he found the law of right,
He walked by faith and not the letter's sight,
And read his Bible by the Inward Light."

In 1688, as has been mentioned, the Friends of Germantown drew up a protest against slavery[67] and sent it to the Monthly Meeting. The protest is in Pastorius' handwriting, though he may not have formulated all the wording of it.

Whittier tells in the beginning of the poem, through Pastorius' conversation with his wife, of the reception in the meeting of this protest, and of Pastorius' discouragement at the result:

"Again she looked: between green walls of shade,
With low-bent head as if with sorrow weighed,
Daniel Pastorius slowly came and said,

" 'God's peace be with thee, Anna!'[68] Then he stood
Silent before her, wrestling with the mood
Of one who sees the evil and not good

" 'What is it, my Pastorius?' As she spoke,
A slow, faint smile across his features broke,
Sadder than trees. 'Dear heart,' he said, 'our folk

[67] Pennypacker's *Germantown*, page 145.
[68] The name of Pastorius's wife was Ennecke.

" 'Are even as others. Yea, our goodliest Friends
Are frail, our elders have their selfish ends,
And few dare trust the Lord to make amends'

"For duty's loss. So even our feeble word
For the dumb slaves the startled meeting heard
As if a stone its quiet waters stirred;

"And, as the clerks ceased reading, there began
A ripple of dissent which downward ran
In widening circles, as from man to man.

"Somewhat was said of running before sent,
Of tender fear that some their guide outwent,
Troublers of Israel. I was scarce intent

"On hearing, for behind the reverend row
Of gallery Friends, in dumb and piteous show
I saw, methought, dark faces full of woe

"And in the spirit I was taken where
They toiled and suffered, I was made aware
Of shame and wrath and anguish and despair!

"And while the meeting smothered our poor plea
With cautious phrase, A Voice there seemed to be,
'As ye have done to these ye do to me!'

"So it all passed, and the old tithe went on
Of anise, mint, and cumin, till the sun
Set, leaving still the weightier work undone.

"Help, for the good man faileth! Who is strong,
If these be weak? Who shall rebuke the wrong,
If these consent? How long, O Lord! how long!

"He ceased, and, bound in spirit with the bound,
With folded arms, and eyes that sought the ground,
Walked musingly his little garden round."

Whittier speaks also of this protest in *John Woolman's Journal.*[69]

Pastorius, in his busy life of lawyer, town clerk, and schoolmaster,[70] found time to write many valuable books and tracts.

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[69] *Prose Works,* Riverside Ed., Vol. III, page 321.

[70] Pastorius taught in the Friends' School in Philadelphia, 1698-1700. In 1702, a school was opened in Germantown and was also taught by him.

Of Pastorius' printed books, the most interesting are perhaps his *Primmer* and his *Description of Pennsylvania.* Some of his most important works have never been published; amongst these, the *Beehive,* one of the most interesting and extensive works of the Colonial period, is an encyclopedia of knowledge, composed for the use of his children. The title was written in seven languages.

The references to Pastorius' literary labors are as follows:

"And when the bitter north wind, keen and swift
Swept the white street and piled the door-yard drift,
He exercised, as Friends might say, his gift

"Of verse, Dutch, English, Latin, like the hash
Of corn and beans in Indian succotash;
Dull, doubtless, but with here and there a flash

"Of wit and fine conceit,—the good man's play
Of quiet fancies, meet to while away
The slow hours measuring off an idle day.

"At evening, while his wife put on her look
Of love's endurance, from its niche he took
The written pages of his ponderous book.

"And read, in half the languages of man,
His 'Rusca Apium' which with bees began,
And through the gamut of creation ran."

The *Grund und Lager Buch* is most interesting perhaps to us, since Pastorius' Latin address to posterity has been immortalized by Whittier, by his translation[71] of it in *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim.*

He introduces his poem with this translation:

"Hail to posterity!
Hail, future men of Germanopolis!
Let the young generations yet to be
Look kindly upon this.

[71] The Latin address from which Whittier made his translation may be found in Professor Seidensticker's article in the *Penn Monthly* for January, 1872.

Think how your fathers left their native land,—
Dear German-land! O sacred hearths and homes!—
And, where the wild beast roams,
In patience planned
New forest-homes beyond the mighty sea,
There undisturbed and free
To live as brothers of one family.
What pains and cares befell,
What trials and what fears,
Remember, and wherein we have done well
Follow our footsteps, men of coming years!
Where we have failed to do
Aright, or wisely live,
Be warned by us, the better way pursue,
And, knowing we were human, even as you,
Pity us and forgive!
Farewell, Posterity!
Farewell, dear Germany!
Forevermore farewell!"

In a letter to the President of Haverford College at the time of its Semi-Centennial in 1884, Whittier shows his appreciation of the founders of "the State of Pennsylvania—Penn, Lloyd, Pastorius, Logan, and Story; men who were masters of the scientific knowledge and culture of their age, hospitable to all truth, and open to all light, and who in some instances anticipated the result of modern research and critical inquiry."[72]

Among the letters in Whittier's home in Amesbury, Mass., is an unpublished letter from George Bunsen[73] to his aunt, Mrs. Gurney, mentioning *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim,* from which I quote the following extract:

"12th August, 1873.

"A delay of several months has occurred before I obtained possession of your beautiful present of a late volume by Mr. John G. Whittier. When my sister, Jane Gurney, wrote from our house at Berlin, mentioning the interest we had all felt in extracts from *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim,* and in fact of a German having been

[72] Whittier, *Prose Works,* Riverside Ed., Vol. III, page 362.

[73] George Bunsen was the son of Baron Christian Bunsen, who from 1841 to 1854 was German Ambassador to England. An older son of Baron Bunsen married an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Gurney, niece of Elizabeth Fry.

among the very first to boldly demand the liberation of negro slaves, we none of us supposed that poem to have come out in so splendid a garb as that in which I now see it lying before me."

In the chapter on Bayard Taylor, the correspondence between the two poets about the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" and "Lars" has already been discussed.

Hymn of the Dunkers.

Whittier's *Hymn of the Dunkers* appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1877.

The hymn begins:

Kloster Kedar, Ephrata, Pa., 1738.

Sister Maria Christina sings:

"Wake, sisters, wake! the day star shines;
Above Ephrata's eastern pines
The dawn is breaking, cool and calm.
Wake, sisters, wake! to prayer and psalm!

"Praised be the Lord for shade and light,
For toil by day, for rest by night!
Praised be His name who deigns to bless
Our Kedar of the Wilderness!"

A few words as to the Dunkers and their peculiar music will help understand Whittier's hymn.

The Dunker Church had its origin at Schwarzenau, Germany, in 1708, and was the outcome of the pietistic movements of the seventeenth century. One branch of these people in 1715 fled to Crefeld, Prussia, and under the leadership of Peter Becker came to Germantown in 1719, the first company of Dunkers to come to America.

The name Dunker (Tunker) comes from the verb *tunken,* modern German *taufen,* to dip, baptize—from their belief in "trine" immersion (triple immersion).

Other doctrines[74] peculiar to this sect are: Feet-washing, as taught in John xiii; The Love Feast, or Lord's Supper; The Holy Kiss, or Salutation; Plain Dress; and the doctrine of Peace.

[74] See *History of the German Baptist Brethren,* by Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh, 1890, page 555.

In 1723, Peter Becker organized the scattered members of the Society about Germantown into a united body.

An early secession from the General body of Dunkers was that of the Seventh-Day Dunkers, whose distinctive principle was that the Seventh-Day was the true Sabbath. Their founder was Conrad Beissel (1690-1768), a baker from Eberbach, Germany. He came to Germantown in 1720 and after serving apprenticeship as a weaver with Becker, he went to live as a hermit in the wilderness of Conestoga County, Pennsylvania, near the Cocalico. In his beliefs he was much more mystical than his friends in Germantown. He also laid great stress on the holiness of celibacy. The sect of which he was leader was founded in 1725 and in 1735 established into a semi-monastic community of the "Order of Solitary" at Ephrata in Lancaster County. There was a house for the brothers and one for the sisters. There were also some married couples among the congregation, but they were looked upon as much less holy than the others. Beissel, as the Vorsteher or overseer of the community, was given the name of father "Friedsam Gottrecht". He ruled the community with an iron hand and at his death the society began to decline.

A monastic dress was adopted by the brethren and sisters resembling that of the Capuchins.

At one time the Society included about three hundred members. The brothers engaged in printing, book-binding, tanning and quarrying. There was also a saw-mill and a pottery. The sisters did embroidery, quilting and engrossing in a beautiful hand.

An interesting account of the peculiar music and singing schools at Ephrata may be found in the *Chronicon Ephratense, History of the Community of Seventh-Day Baptists,* by Lamech and Agrippa. Translated by Max Hark, Lancaster, Pa., 1889, Chapter XXIV.

Many of these hymns were religious love lyrics expressing the glowing longing of the soul for the heavenly bridegroom.

The earliest hymn and music books of the Ephrata community[75] were all laboriously and carefully executed with the

[75] Sachse, *Music of the Ephrata Cloister,* page 33.

pen. These were supplanted by the hymn-books printed for their use by Franklin in 1730, 1732, and 1736, and Sauer in 1739. The latter book was known as the *Weyrauchs Hügel.* Shortly after the large printing press was established in the institution on the Cocalico, it was proposed to issue a distinctive original hymn-book for the uses of both the solitary and secular organizations; all of the compositions being the work of the inmates of the Kloster and set to tunes of their own. This resulted in the issue in 1747 of the *Turtel-Taube,* containing some two hundred and seventy-seven hymns. About two-thirds of the hymns were contributed by Conrad Beissel[75a]. This was the first original hymn-book printed at Ephrata.

Amongst the unpublished letters to Whittier in the possession of Mr. Pickard at Amesbury, Mass., is one from a Pennsylvania German, of Quincy, Franklin County, Obed Snowberger by name, making inquiries of Whittier as to the sources of his hymn. The letter is dated Quincy, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, December 31, 1888:

"I saw that hymn of the Dunkers in the papers. I wondered very much how you came into possession of it. I have the Ephrata books. The hymn is Ephrata *tone.*[76] There was a Quaker lady among the sisters at Ephrata, but the name is not given. I have had to wonder a good deal how you succeeded to render an Ephrata hymn so very correctly in English language. I have been written to about it and could not tell anything definite. I should be very glad to have a short historical sketch of the hymn. The hymn I send I translated myself. I do not know of any other two hymns of similar length being translated into the English language. Should the hymn I send be worth printing in any periodical, I would not want anything more than a copy of the paper.

[75a] Beissel's most important hymn book was the *Paradiesisches Wunderspiel,* 1754. Another edition, 1766. There were two later editions of the Turtel-Taube, 1755 and 1762. In 1756, *Rosen und Lilen* Aus der Schwester lichen Gesellschaft in Saron und aus der Brüderlichen Gesellschaft in Bethania. The last hymn book printed by the Ephrata Community was *Ausbund Geistreicher Lieder,* 1785.

[76] The writing here was indistinct and I am not sure this was the word.

"If desired by the publisher, I might distribute a number of copies. So far as the Institute is concerned we are out of danger. I think the papers we have had printed will end the law-suit.

"Yours Respect.,

"OBED SNOWBERGER."

I have not been able to get hold of Whittier's reply to this letter, as the family of Obed Snowberger seem to know nothing about his writing to Whittier. Inasmuch as Mr. Julius F. Sachse, of Philadelphia, claims to have most of the manuscripts of Obed Snowberger, the letter, if it still exists, is probably in his possession, and since I was unable to get access to these manuscripts, the matter still remains unsettled.

According to Sachse's *Appendix to the German Sectarians of 1742,* Obed Snowberger was thoroughly familiar with the Ephrata music. He was born in 1823 and was a member of the Snow Hill community of Dunkers established at Franklin County, Pennsylvania.

Among the books in Whittier's library was the work of Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays,* edition of 1872, and as Whittier's poem was written in 1877, he very likely took the name of the sister from this book for his hymn.

She tells that, "while Beissel was dwelling in his solitary cot about the year 1730, two married women joined the Society, who according to *The Ephrata Chronicle,* left their husbands and placed themselves under the head of the director (or Vorsteher, the title applied to Beissel in the *Chronicle*). One of these was Maria Christina, wife of Christopher Sauer, who afterwards established the celebrated German printing office at Germantown."[77]

In the Ephrata Register in Sachse's[78] *German Sectarians,* this sister seems to be the only one of that name in the list, though there were several Marias and one Christianne.

In spite of Obed Snowberger's letter, I am inclined to think that Whittier's hymn is not an exact translation of any one of

[77] Page 141.

[78] Sachse's *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania,* 1742-1800. Philadelphia, 1900, pages 485-517.

the hymns in the Ephrata books; this is also the opinion of Mr. James Warrington, who is an authority on the Ephrata music. Though neither Mr. Warrington nor myself could find any one hymn that we could say was used as the model for Whittier's, yet a number contained some of the thoughts expressed in his poem. Whittier has not called it a translation. This is another reason for thinking it is not meant to be a translation but an attempt to give voice to the religious sentiments of the sect about whom he was writing.

The Penn Monthly, in a review of Whittier's *Vision of Echard,*[79] does not think that he does voice these sentiments. The review says: "Just as untrue to history is the picture of the thoughts and aspirations of the Ephrata Cloister in the *Dunker's Hymn.* The whole weft and woof of the poem is Quakerly. A Dunker mystic would not have singled out Rome and Geneva as the embodiment of the ecclesiasticism against which they protested. And it is to be hoped that they would have been too truthful to allude to prison and the stake as among the experiences of the sect founded by Alexander Mack. Their adventism is the only point on which Mr. Whittier catches the character of the sect; but that was of a mystical, theosophical type, widely different from his picture of it."

Letter on Pennsylvania German Sects.

The following unpublished letter[80] of Sarah Orne Jewett to Whittier, though written after the poet published his Pennsylvania German poems, is an interesting letter and worthy of being quoted:

"Bethlehem, Pa., 22nd April, 1884.

"I wish you were here with us, we have spoken of you so many times—for though we were disappointed at first in finding such a bustling town where we expected a rural neighborhood—we are more and more delighted with what we find of the old Moravian settlement. One can easily pick it out from the newer town, and the church and community houses are very interesting,

[79] Vol. 10, page 236.

[80] Original letter in possession of S. T. Pickard.

but most of all the old burying ground. On one little stone we saw an epitaph beside the record—a very uncommon thing—and found that after the child's name it said: 'How did the Saviour look? "Right clean" was his reply.' It was an old stone and this touched us very much. It could only be a most simple and devout people who had cherished the vision, and kept the simple words—Doesn't it make you think much of William Blake? We have been this afternoon to the sisters' house and saw some old embroideries of the nuns manufacture and bought some candy of the quaint little creature whose sister made it. They have an atom of a shop in one end of their prim and threadbare best room. The window was full of plants and the hinges of the doors were fine old iron work and Sister Rose's world was so small that you could have walked around it in an afternoon, if one side of it wasn't bounded by heaven. There are beautiful high hills covered with walnut and maple trees, but only the willows are very green yet."

Whittier makes another reference to the German sects in Pennsylvania in the introduction which he wrote to Stanley Pumphrey's lecture on *Indian Civilization*:[81] "The salutary influence of the Moravians and Friends in Pennsylvania was greatly weakened by the dreadful massacre of the unarmed and blameless converts of Gnadenhutten."[82]

Maud Muller (1854).

This ballad, composed about a German-American farmer's daughter, was first published in *The National Era* of December 28, 1854. "To a correspondent who asked of him the pronunciation of 'Muller', Whittier replied: . . . 'Pronounce the name with either the Yankee or the German accent—it matters not which.' (He always pronounced the 'u' as in gull.)"[83]

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[81] *Indian Civilization,* a lecture by Stanley Pumphrey, of England, with Introduction by J. G. Whittier, 1877.

[82] *Prose Works of John Greenleaf Whittier,* Riverside Edition, Vol. III, page 233.

[83] Pickard, *Life and Letters,* page 368.

F. H. Underwood[84] says that the region about Longwood, Pa., is probably the scene in which Maud Muller was located, but Whittier's head-note to the poem explains its origin otherwise:

"The recollection of some descendants of a Hessian deserter in the revolutionary war bearing the name of Muller doubtless suggested the somewhat infelicitous title of a New England idyl. The poem had no real foundation in fact, though a hint of it may have been found in recalling an incident, trivial in itself, of a journey on the picturesque Maine seaboard with my sister some years before it was written. We had stopped to rest our tired horse under the shade of an apple tree, and refresh him with water from a little brook which rippled through the stone wall across the road. A very beautiful young girl in scantest summer attire was at work in the hay-field, and as we talked with her we noticed that she strove to hide her bare feet by raking hay over them, blushing as she did so, through the tan of her cheek and neck."[85]

Maud Muller is one of Whittier's most beautiful poems and in fact one of the best in American poetry—the simple picture of the German farm girl, in

". . . Her briar-torn gown,
And her graceful ankles bare and brown",

raking the sweet-scented hay, appeals to the hearts of all.

Eduard Engel says of this poem: "Whittier's Gabe der romanzenartigen Erzählung zeigt sich am schönsten in dem in Amerika ungemein beliebten Gedicht, 'Maud Muller'. Es erinnert gar nicht unvorteilhaft an gewisse gedichte Uhlands."[86]

It has been translated four[86a] times into German: by Adolf

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[84] *John G. Whittier,* by Francis H. Underwood. Boston, 1884. Footnote to page 305.

[85] *Cambridge Edition* of Poems, page 47.

[86] *Geschichte der Litteratur Nordamerikas,* von Eduard Engel, Leipzig, John Greenleaf Whittier, S. 20-24.

[86a] Dr. Alfred I. Roehm in his dissertation, *Bibliographie und Kritik der deutschen Uebertragungen aus der amerikanischen Dichtung,* Leipzig, 1910, makes the statement that there are five translations. I have failed to find the fifth, and Dr. Roehm does not now remember who the translator is, if it exists. Owing to the European war, I have not had access to anthologies which might have been available at other times; but I have had access to all those mentioned by Dr. Roehm as containing translations of Whittier.

Strodtmann,[87] under the title *Maud Müller;* by J. Nöroth,[88] entitled *Schön Kätchen;* by V. Beaulieu Marconnay,[89] with the title *Ann Muller;* and by E. O. Hopp,[89a] *Maud Müller.*

Of these translations, the best is the one by Nöroth. Whittier is at his best as a ballad writer in this poem, in his simplicity and fervidness, and the translator has lost little of the beauty of the original in translation. The last few verses well illustrate this:

"Du armes Mädchen, von Elend geplagt,
Du armer Reicher, von Reue benagt!

"Hilf uns Allen, O Gott, denn wir rufen das Glück
Der Jugendträume vergebens zurück.

"Und das traurigste Wort, das ein Ohr je vernahm,
Ist wohl dieses: 'Ach, dasz es anders kam!'

"Wie manche süsse Hoffnung liegt
Begraben tief vor der Menschen Gesicht!

"Doch mögen im Jenseits die Engelein
Weg wälzen vom stillen Grab den Stein!"

The translation by E. O. Hopp is also very good:

"Maud Müller an einem Sommertag
Reihte das Heu am grünen Hag.

"Unter dem ärmlichen Hut, wie glüht
Ihr Antlitz, das froh im Jugendschein blüht!

"Singend schafft sie, ein Echo erklang
Der Drossel, die fern am Waldsaum sang."

Cobbler Keezar's Vision (1861).

The ballad of Keezar[90] was written on occasion of a Horticultural Festival, and was sent to Fields with the following note,

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[87] Adolf Strodtmann, *Amerikanische Anthologie,* Leipzig, S. 120.

[88] J. Nöroth, *Blüten der neueren englischen und amerikanischen Poesie ins Deutsche übertragen.* Boston, 1874, S. 99.

[89] W. Prinzhorn, *Von beiden Ufern des Atlantik,* Hendel-Halle, 1894, S. 415.

[89a] Ernst O. Hopp, *Unter dem Sternenbanner,* Bromberg, 1877.

[90] See headnote to Poem, *Cambridge Edition,* page 77.

before its appearance in *The Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1861:

"I send thee an absurd ballad which I like for its absurdity. Read it, and let me know whether thee think it worth submitting to Lowell. It is just what 'Harper' would like, but I would like better to see it in the Maga., if it is proper for it."[91]

Cobbler Keezar was a noted character of German birth among the first settlers in the valley of the Merrimac.

In Whittier's *Prose Works,* in an article on the *Border War of 1708,*[92] may be found an account of this strange personage.

Another account of Cobbler Keezar is to be found in the *History of Haverhill, Mass.*[93] The material for this history was partly collected by Whittier, but completed and edited by B. L. Mirick. As the Haverhill history adds a little more to the story, it is quoted here:

"This Keezar, the son of John Keezar, was a very eccentric man, and a jack at all trades. He was said to be exceedingly proud of his proficiency in walking, leaping, and other manual exercises, and, if tradition may be relied upon, he was certainly a great walker and leaper, for it is said that he walked to Boston and back again in one night, and jumped over a cart with two large pails full of milk in his hands. It was his custom to go from this town to Amesbury and pitch his tent on the side of a hill, where he worked at the trade of shoemaking, and lived in all respects, while there, like an austere hermit."

"It was the fact that Keezar was wont to pitch his tent on Po Hill and mend the foot-gear of the Amesbury people, that suggested to the poet the use of his name as the seer of the wonderful vision revealed by the magic lapstone."[94]

"Well knew the tough old Teuton
Who brewed the stoutest ale,
And he paid the good wife's reckoning
In the coin of song and tale.

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[91] See Pickard, *Life and Letters,* page 430.

[92] *Riverside Edition,* Vol. II, pages 375-6.

[93] *History of Haverhill, Mass.,* edited by B. L. Mirick, 1832, page 119.

[94] Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 429.

"The songs they still are singing
Who dress the hills of vine,
The tales that haunt the Brocken
And whisper down the Rhine."

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"Oh for the breath of vineyards
Of apples and nuts and wine!
For an oar to row and a breeze to blow
Down the grand old river Rhine!

"A tear in his blue eye glistened
And dropped on his beard so gray,
'Old, old am I,' said Keezar,
And the Rhine flows far away!"

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"Well he knew the tricks of magic,
And the lapstone on his knee
Had the gift of Mormon goggles
Or the stone of Dr. Dee.

"For the mighty master Agrippa[95]
Wrought it with spell and rhyme
From a fragment of magic moonstone
In the tower of Nettesheim.

"To a cobbler Minnesinger
The marvellous stone gave he,—
And he gave it in turn, to Keezar,
Who brought it over the sea."

Then follows a very beautiful description of woodlands and streams in the Fatherland, and the villages upon their banks, as they pass before Keezar's view.

" 'What is it I see?' said Keezar:
'Am I here, or am I there?
Is it a fete at Bingen?
Do I look on Frankfurt fair?

"But where are the clowns and puppets,
And imps with horns and tail?
And where are the Rhenish flagons?
And where is the foaming ale?' "

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[95] Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, born at Cologne, September 14, 1487, and died 1535. He was interested in magic and studied at Würzburg,

All sorts of strange people pass, in his vision, and the poet continues:

"Loud laughed the cobbler Keezar,
Laughed like a schoolboy gay;
Tossing his arms above him,
The lapstone rolled way.

"It rolled down the rugged hillside,
It spun like a wheel bewitched,
It plunged through the leaning willows,
And into the river pitched."

In another poem of Whittier's, *The Sycamores,* he again refers to the cobbler as at work under the grand old trees planted by Hugh Tallant, the first Irish resident of Haverhill:

"Where the ancient cobbler, Keezar,
On the open hillside wrought
Singing, as he drew his stitches,
Songs his German masters taught."[96]

The character of Agrippa, the Master of Magic of Nettesheim, must have had a fascination for Whittier, as he mentions him at other times in his works. In *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim* he says:

"Rare plants of power and herbs of healing grew
Such as Von Helmont and Agrippa knew."[98]

In his prose works in an article on *Magicians and Witch Folk* he refers to the knight:

"It may be that our modern conjurer defended himself on grounds similar to those assumed by the celebrated knight of Nettesheim, in the preface to his first Book of Magic: 'Some,' says he, 'may crie oute that I teach forbidden arts, sow the seed

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under the abbot, Tretheim, the teacher of Paracelsus. The books by which he is best known are: *De vanitate et incertitude scientarum* and *De occulta philosophia sive de magia.*

[96] Cambridge Edition of *Whittier's Poems,* page 58.

[98] Cambridge Edition of *Poetical Works,* page 104.

of heresies, offend pious ears, and scandalize excellent wits; that I am a sorcerer, superstitious and devilish, who indeed am a magician. To whom I answer, that a magician doth not among learned men signifie a sorcerer or one that is superstitious or devilish, but a wise man, a priest, a prophet, and that the sibyls prophesied most clearly of Christ; that magicians, as wise men, by the wonderful secrets of the world, knew Christ to be born, and came to worship him, first of all; and that the name of magicke is received by philosophers, commended by divines, and not unacceptable to the Gospel."[99]

In a letter to Fields, Whittier writes:

"I have been looking over the proof of *Snow Bound*. . . . I shall dedicate it to my brother, and shall occupy one page with quotations from Cor. Agrippa, and from Emerson's *Snow Storm!*"[100]

The quotation which he made use of is:

"As the Spirits of Darkness be stronger in the dark, so Good Spirits which be Angels of Light are augmented not only by the divine Light of the Sun, but also by our common Wood Fire; and as the Celestial Fire drives away dark spirits, so also this our Fire of Wood doth the same."[101] Cor. Agrippa, *Occult Philosophy,* Book 1, Chap. 5.

Barbara Frietchie (1863).

This ballad was published in *The Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1863, and was suggested to Whittier by the novelist, Mrs. D. E. N. Southworth, of Georgetown, D. C., with whom he became acquainted through his position of corresponding editor of *The National Era.* The following is the story as Mrs. Southworth sent it to the poet:

"When Lee's army occupied Frederick, the only Union flag displayed in the city was held from an attic window by Mrs. Barbara Frietchie, a widow lady, aged ninety-seven years. Such

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[99] *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, Vol. I, page 402.

[100] S. T. Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 497.

[101] Cambridge Edition of *Whittier's Poems,* page 399.

was the paragraph that went the round of the Washington papers last September. Some time afterwards, from friends who were in Frederick at the time, I heard the whole story. It was the story of a woman's heroism, which, when heard, seemed as much to belong to you as a book picked up with your autograph on the flyleaf. So here it is:

"Barbara Frietchie was born in 1766; she was ten years old at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, and was fifteen years old at its close; therefore at the most susceptible period of her life she must have drawn in from that heroic epoch the ardent spirit of patriotism which inspired her act. When on the morning of the 6th of September, the advance of Lee's army, led by the formidable rebel general, 'Stonewall' Jackson, entered Frederick, every Union flag was lowered, and the halliards cut; every store and every dwelling house was closed; the inhabitants had retreated indoors; the streets were deserted, and, to quote the official report, 'the city wore a church-yard aspect'. But Mrs. Barbara Frietchie, taking one of the Union flags, went up to the top of her house, opened a garret window, and held it forth. The rebel army marched up the street, saw the flag; the order was given, 'Halt! Fire!' and a volley was discharged at the window from which it was displayed. The flag-staff was partly broken, so that the flag drooped; the old lady drew it in, broke off the fragment, and, taking the stump with the flag still attached to it in her hand, stretched herself as far out of the window as she could, held the Stars and Stripes at arm's length waving over the rebels, and cried out in a voice of indignation and sorrow: 'Fire at this old head, then, boys; it is not more venerable than your flag'. They fired no more; they passed in silence and with downcast looks; and she secured the flag in its place, where it waved unmolested during the whole of the rebel occupation of the city. 'Stonewall' would not permit her to be troubled. The rebel army evacuated Frederick on the 11th, and our troops, under General Burnside, entered on the 12th. 'Then', to quote the document again, 'Flags of all sizes and from every conceivable place were displayed'. But as for the heroic old lady, she died a few days after; some thought she died of joy at the

presence of the Union army, and some that she died of excitement and fatigue from the 'lionization' she received; for those who could not emulate the old lady's courage did honor to her act."[102]

Mrs. Southworth had the story from Mr. C. S. Bramsburg, a neighbor of hers and a relative of Barbara's.[103]

Mrs. Mary Quantrell, of Frederick, wrote to Whittier, claiming to be the one who had waved the flag and asking that she be recognized. There was so much controversy over the poem that Whittier was really annoyed by the letters that were sent to him about it. To some one who expressed doubt as to the actual occurrence of the fact immortalized by the poem, he replied "That there was a Dame Frietchie in Frederick who loved the old flag is not disputed by any one. As for the rest I do not feel responsible. If there was no such occurrence, so much the worse for Frederick City".[104]

Henry M. Nixdorff, a German citizen of Frederick and a neighbor of Barbara's, has written a little book,[105] *Historic Old Frederick,* in which he gives a sketch of Whittier's heroine, with whom he was personally acquainted. According to his account she was a Pennsylvania German from Lancaster, born in 1766. Her name and that of her parents, Nicholas and Catherine Hauer, are recorded in the records of the First Reformed Church of Lancaster. Her husband, John C. Fritchie, conducted a glove factory in Frederick, Md., and was a highly respected citizen. He was successful in business, but did not acquire great wealth, and at his death left his wife the modest brick house on West Patrick Street. "The old lady, Mrs. Fritchie, was not robust, but decision of character was seen throughout, and judging from her eyes and mouth she surely was not one to be trifled with. She was one of those persons who impress you favorably

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[102] Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 454.

[103] S. T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 456.

[104] Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 457.

[105] *Life of Whittier's Heroine, Barbara Fritchie,* including a brief but comprehensive sketch of Historic Old Frederick, by Henry M. Nixdorff, Frederick, Md., 1887.

at the first interview. I shall never for a moment forget her appearance as she came into my store during the earlier part of the war, leaning on her staff and saying with the greatest earnestness, 'Do not for a moment despair; stand firm'."

The book proves nothing, however, except that Barbara was a patriotic old lady who would be capable of such an act, and that the flag always fluttered from her window. He says:

"As the Confederate troops passed out West Patrick Street, I stood at the front window of my dwelling. General Jackson's corps was in advance. So intent was I in noticing and reflecting on this lamentable action on the part of the people against the best government on earth, that I lost sight of what was going on at Mrs. Fritchie's, although her residence was not a square away from my own. But this I do believe, that if the opportunity presented, she did not fail to improve it, as Aunt Fritchie was fearless and very patriotic. I am inclined to believe from inquiry that General Jackson[106] did not pass by her dwelling. It appears he left his soldiers to call on Rev. Dr. Ross, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. Grant it was not General Jackson, it might have been some other officer in command; if so, it would not change the principle."

He goes on to relate that he did see a neighbor, Mrs. Quantrell, standing on her front porch, with a small Union flag in her hand, waving it, and apparently making the most earnest remarks to a Confederate officer.

Whittier mentions Mrs. Mary Quantrell in the head-note[107] to his poem and says: "It is possible that there has been a blending of the two incidents."

In *The New York Sun,* August 12, 1912, is an article by the niece of Barbara Frietchie, Mrs. Caroline Winebrenner, in which she corroborates Mrs. Southworth's story and says she was with her aunt in Frederick at the time.

The philanthropist, Dorothea Dix, also investigated the case and confirmed the facts as stated by the novelist to the poet.

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[106] Mrs. Stonewall Jackson denies the incident in her *Life and Letters of Gen. T. J. Jackson.* Harpers, New York, 1891.

[107] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 342.

Whittier says in a letter dated October 19, 1890:

"I had a portrait of the good old lady Barbara from the saintly hand of Dorothea Dix, whose life is spent in works of love and duty, and a cane from Barbara's cottage, sent me by Dr. Steiner of the Maryland Senate. Whether she did all that my poem ascribed to her or not, she was a brave and true woman. I followed the account given me in a private letter and in the papers of the time."[108]

A most interesting account of the patriotic old lady is given by Caroline H. Dall.[109] She gives as sources for her material Valerius Ebert, a nephew of Caspar Fritchie, and others who were either related to, or knew the Fritchies, and especially Dr. Lewis H. Steiner, of Baltimore, who presented Whittier with Barbara's cane. Miss Dall says that her inquiries satisfied her that the story was true as told by Mrs. Southworth. The novelist does not say that Stonewall Jackson ordered the troops to fire, but that Whittier was inspired by the noble suggestions of the story and gave his imagination full play. It was natural that he should think that the general who gave the orders to "march on" was at his post when the disturbance began.

However, we do not expect a poet to cling always to facts. Whether the incident occurred or not, Whittier has made of the incident a most stirring ballad, that has made Dame Barbara immortal. He spells the name as Mrs. Southworth sent it to him, which was in fact the original spelling, but Miss Dall says:

"Barbara Fritchie did not preserve the German spelling of her name, and I spell it here as it is spelled on her monument in the graveyard at Frederick."[110]

Henry M. Nixdorf also confirms this and says: "We give the English as it was spelled on his small sign at the window, where he was conducting business, 'Fritchie.' "[111]

The poem has been translated once into the Pennsylvania German dialect and twice into German. The Pennsylvania Ger-

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[108] See Pickard's *Life and Letters of J. G. Whittier,* page 458.

[109] *Barbara Fritchie, a Study,* by Caroline H. Dall, Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1892.

[110] *Fritchie, a Study,* by C. H. Dall, page 15.

[111] *Life of Whittier's Heroine, B. Fritchie,* by H. M. Nixdorf. Preface.

man poem is by Lee L. Grumbine,[112] of Lancaster, Pa., and the title reads *Die Alt Bevvy Fritchie.*

The translation into the dialect is very interesting and is written in the same metre as Whittier's, but some of the stanzas do not scan very smoothly; the first verses giving the description of Frederick, as the rebel troops enter the city, will serve to illustrate:

"Aus grüne Felder, mit Früchte reich,
In der Morge-kühle, im schöne Deich,
Ummaurt bei grüne Hüwel dort
Stehn die Kirche-thurm der Frererich Stadt.

Mit Äppel un' Pirsching Bäm rings 'rumkehrt,
Ke' Land meh' lieblich uf ganser Erd!
Herrlich schtreckt 'vor wie' Gottes-garte,
Zu de hungriche A'ge der Rebel- Soldate."

The translations into German are by Ernst O. Hopp[113] and Johann Straubenmüller.[114] Of these, Straubenmüller's translation is perhaps the better. It is, however, not a literal translation, though he uses the same metre as Whittier. Again the beginning of the poem is quoted as illustration:

"Von Hügeln Maryland's bewacht
Winkt Frederick uns zu und lacht.

Ringsum ist's einem Garten gleich,
An Korn und Obst und Früchten reich.

September war's, der Morgen fein,
Als Lee brach wettergleich herein."

The Palatine.

This poem appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly,* January, 1867.

The legend[115] on which the ballad of *The Palatine* is founded was told to Whittier by his friend Joseph P. Hazard, of Newport, R. I.

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[112] See *Pennsylvania German Dialect,* by Lee L. Grumbine, contained in the *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses* at Harrisburg, October 25, 1901, Vol. 12, published 1903, page 90.

[113] *England and Amerika,* herausgegeben von *Julius Hart,* Minden, 1885.

[114] *Herbstrosen,* Gesammelte Gedichte von *Johann* Straubenmüller, New York, 1889, S. 161.

[115] Pickard, *Life and Letters,* page 527.

Faust[116] suggests that the wrecked ship, to which Whittier's poem refers, was doubtless from the Palatinate and carried German immigrants. According to Faust, the vessel was probably the Herbert, which sailed from England, in 1710, in company with nine other ships, carrying in all about 3000 persons, most of whom were destined for the Schoharie region in New York. It was bound for Philadelphia and was wrecked on the east coast of Long Island. Tradition says that the vessel was laden with treasure and that this excited the greed of the crew, who slew the immigrants and made off with their booty.

In the poem, the wreckers on shore lured the ship to its ruin with false lights, and after all on board were lost, burned the wreck. After its publication, Whittier received the following letter[116a] from an old man, Benjamin Corydon, of Napoli, N. Y., telling of his having seen the phantom-ship:

"I sent you a paper containing a statement[117] of what I knew about the Palatine or Phantom of Block Island. I saw her a number of times in my early days; she always came on the same night of the year. My father lived right opposite Block Island on the Main, so we had a fair view of her as she passed down by the Island. I think it must be seventy years or more since the last time she was seen; it was the greatest sight I ever saw in my long life. It came right from the hand of the Almighty, she was sent no doubt to let them miserable men know that he hadn't forgot their wickedness in murdering her people when they were on their knees at prayer thanking God for saving them from being drowned."

Baron Steuben.

In an article, *The Black Men in the Revolution and War of 1812,*[117a] Whittier relates this incident of the celebrated Hessian, Baron Steuben, in the American Revolution:

"There is a touching anecdote related of Baron Steuben on the occasion of the disbandment of the American army. A

[116] A. B. Faust, *German Element in the United States,* page 80.

[116a] Letter in possession of Mr. Pickard.

[117] See Pickard: *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 527, for this statement.

[117a] *Prose Works* of John Greenleaf Whittier, Vol. II, pages 407-8.

black soldier, with his wounds unhealed, utterly destitute, stood on the wharf just as a vessel bound for his distant home was getting under way. The poor fellow gazed at the vessel with tears in his eyes, and gave himself up to despair. The warm-hearted foreigner witnessed his emotion and, inquiring into the cause of it, took his last dollar from his purse and gave it to him, with tears of sympathy trickling down his cheeks. Overwhelmed with gratitude, the poor wounded soldier hailed the sloop and was received on board. As it moved out from the wharf, he cried back to his noble friend on shore: 'God Almighty bless you, Master Baron!' "

German American Translation of Whittier's "Homestead."

In Amesbury is a scrap book, in which the poet had collected tributes to him on his birthdays, and things of a like nature. Among these is a clipping taken from *The Reading Times.* It is a translation of Whittier's poem *Homestead,* entitled *Die Verlassene Heimat,* and signed H. L. F.

The translation is by Henry L. Fisher, who was an attorney-at-law of York, Pa., and the author of several interesting volumes on Pennsylvania German Life and Customs.

His poem is in the same metre, but lacks the beauty and smoothness of Whittier's poem. It is not an exact translation, nor do the stanzas follow exactly the order of Whittier's poem.—Für die *Reading Times. Die Verlassene Heimat. Nach Whittier's Homestead.*

Am blassen Berg steht's leere Haus—
Ach, hab' ich das zuletzt erlebt?
Grinst's Gespenst auf's leere Feld hinaus?
Wo einst die Erndte schweb't?

Un'pflügt, un'sät und ungemäht
Liegt der versäumt', verlass'ne Grund,
Einst fruchtbar und lebhaft mit Mäd',
Und Knaben, frisch und g'sund.

Der Garten, blum- und kräuterlos—
Kein Hausweib ist mehr hier geneigt,
Das Unkraut überwächst die Ros',
Wo jetzt die Schlange schleicht.

Der Lilacbusch, einst blühend hier,
Ist laub- und blütenlos;
Allein und traurig an der Thür,
Da blüh't noch eine Ros'.

Im Staub und Schimmel, alt und faul,
Lässt's Wild sein' leise Spur,
Und in dem grossen Schornstein-Maul
Webt's Spinnlein seine Schnur.

Die alte Scheuer ist im Verfall,
Man hört kein Basters Lustigkeit,
Auch nicht des Flegels Wiederhall,
So wie in alter Zeit.

So traurig und so einsam scheint's,
So grimmig, gram und graus,
Bald überall, so dass man mein't
Die G'spenster halten Haus.

Ach, Heimath, unbewohnt, verloren—
Ist jed' Andenken im Vergang?
All' fort—Verwandten, hier geboren—
Drum Leid ist mein Gesang.

Ihr Wanderer vom Heimathsland,
Verlasset Ämter, G'schäft, Vertrauen,
Und schliesst mit mir ein treues Band—
Die Heimath wiederbauen.

Komm't wieder wo die Lorbeer blühen,
Im kühlen Schatten alter Bäum'—
Fichten und Tannen, dunkelgrün—
Und wieder fröhlich sein.

Obschon der Vorteil ist gering,
Geld ist doch nicht der höchste Werth,
Die Heimath mehr Vergnügen bringt
Als Reichtum aller Erd.

All' was der Geiz verlangen kann—
Ihr Handels-Sklaven, ohne Gunst,
Was wär's zum kunstlos ländlich' Mann?
Werthlos, freudlos, umsonst!

Der glücklich' Landbauer, der ist frei—
Es herrscht keiner über ihn;
Sein Königreich, die Bauerei—
Er herrschet wo er dien't.

O, Väter, ihr die Wälderwänd'
Mit Riesen-Stärk' hernieder hauen!
O, Mütter, ihr, mit treuen Händ',
Die Heimath hülften bauen!

Die ländlich' Knaben kamen hier
Ihr' liebsten Schätzchen öfters sehen—
Die Mädchen lieb, voll Gunst und Zier—
Am Weben, Spinnen, Nähen.

Hier spielten Kinder nach der Schul',
Wie herrlich, fröhlich, froh und frei;
Die liebe Mutter sass im Stuhl,
Wiegt' und strickt' dabei.

Durch murmelnden Bach und seufzend' Luft,
Würd' wenig G'heimniss offenbart;
Im Kirchhof, in der stillen Gruft,
Schläft aber viel und wart'!

Ach prahl' nicht mehr, mein' Heimath arm,
Dein' reichen Söhne, ferne, draus',
Vergesslich, dass nur ein jeder Schwarm
Lässt nur ein leeres Haus.

Mit fleissiger, muthwilliger Hand,
Und allem das die Kunst euch bringt,
Verbesseret das Heimathsland—
Seid fröhlich hier und singt.

West York, April 14, 1886.

H. L. F.

TRANSLATION OF "CLERICAL OPPRESSORS" BY A GERMAN AMERICAN.

The following letter and translation was sent to me by Mr. S. T. Pickard, with permission to print it:

New Bedford, Mass., 1875.

John G. Whittier, Esq.

Dear Sir,—A while since I translated one of your National Lyrics "Clerical Oppressors" into German, and however poorly I may have succeeded, I deem it but just to send you, the author, a copy thereof. Hoping that the language is not a stranger to you, and likewise that it has not lost all its beauties in the attempt, I remain,

Yours Respectfully,

Julius Kirschbaum,
30 Purchase Street,
New Bedford.

Pfäffische Unterdrücker. Frei nach J. G. Whittier.

Grosser Gott!—und dieses sind sie,
Die Dir an dem Altare dienen, Herr des Rechts!
Männer, die ihre Hand in Segen und Gebet
Auf des Lichtes Arche legen.

Was, predigen und Menschen stehlen?
Dank sagen—und gequälte Arme rauben?
Von Freiheit plappern, und verrammeln dann
Fest des Gefang'nen Thür?

Was? Diener, Knechte deines
Barmherzigen Sohnes, der zu suchen und zu lösen kam,
Verlor'ne und Gebund'ne,—in Bande schmieden
Den beraubten Sklaven?

Pilatus und Herodus Freunde!
Priester und Herrscher, wie vor Zeit vereint!
Gerechter, heiliger Gott! ist deine Kirche es
Die Räuber stärkt?

Bezahlte Heuchler, die da
Recht verdrehen, und deinem heil'gen Wort
Die hohe Wahrheit nehmen, die sengt
In Warnung und Verweis.

Fresset fett euch Männer, fresst!
Und Gott gedankt auf den gezierten Kanzeln,
Dass durch geschund'ner Sklaven Elend
Ihr eure Koffer füllt.

Wie lange, Herr, wie lang'
Soll'n diese Pfaffen Wahrheit feilschen,
Und am Altar in deinem Namen
Für Unrecht beten?

Ist am Firmamente
Deine Hand zum Schlag nicht ausgestreckt?
Soll Recht nicht üben der Erd', des Himmels
Lebendiger Gott?—

Wehe allen dann, die, Brüder,
Kinder eines gleichen Vaters, unterdrücken!
Berauben seines Schmuckes, seiner Krone,
Den ewigen Geist!

Wehe, weh' den Pfaffen,
Die man mit Blutzins da bezahlt—
Wahrheit dafür verderbend, ändernd
Auf ihren Pfad.

Ihre Macht und Ehre
Wird vergeh'n; und ihre Namen sogar sollen
Schmutzig vor dem ganzen Volke stehen
Im Licht der Freiheit.

Und eile, eile ihn,
Den Tag wo Unrecht endet—Freiheit, Liebe,
Wahrheit, Recht, wird herrschen durch die Welt
Wie über Sternen.—

Whittier sent the following unpublished letter[118] to the translator:

"Amesbury, 17, 5th mo., 1875.

"Dear Friend:

"I am happy to acknowledge the receipt of thy translation of my poem. So far as my imperfect knowledge of German enables me to judge, it is a good rendering of my verses, in spirit as well as in letter.

"Some translations[118a] of my poems, I received two or three years ago from Berlin. They were made by Monte Block.

"I am truly thy friend,

"John G. Whittier."

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[118] Letter in possession of Wm. G. Kirschbaum, New Bedford, Mass.

[118a] Owing to the death of Mr. Pickard, I was unable to get hold of these translations, but if I have access to them later, I will publish them in some journal.

CHAPTER II.

Whittier and German Themes.

Whittier has been compared, and not inaptly, to some of the poets of the *Befreiungskriege* in Germany, especially to Theodor Körner.

Isaac Knapp, the publisher of Whittier's little volume of *Poems*[119] *written during the progress of the Abolition Question in the United States between the years 1830 and 1838,* says in his introductory remarks:

"A kindly and generous spirit, filled like that of Whittier, 'with all gentleness and calmest hope', makes a sacrifice of its most cherished delights and occupations, when it springs to the defense of the difficult pass which commands the battle-field of Christian Freedom, with the determination to defend it unto blood, and yet to shed none.

"Except in this difference of opinion as to the mode of effecting deliverance from oppression, Whittier is the 'Körner of America'."

Whittier, like Arndt, fought his battles with the pen, and we will see later that Whittier wrote a poem under the inspiration of one of Arndt's *Märchen.*

As a ballad writer Whittier is unsurpassed in America, and his ballads have been compared to those of the German poet Ludwig Uhland. An article on Uhland in *The Independent,* December 11, 1862, speaks of the poet's death and says: "Uhland's best songs are sweet ballads, full of archness, or pathos, or quiet beauty, yet he does not lack vigor. Our Uhland is Whittier."

Whittier's ballads are as true to the spirit of New England as are Uhland's to his own native Suabia. The Quaker poet knew the poems of the German poet. In a letter to Mrs. Fields, dated 7th mo., 14, 1882, he refers to the ballad of *Auf der Ueber-*

[119] Published by Isaac Knapp, Boston, 1837.

fahrt: "How can I thank thee for the graphic description of your visit to the Isle of Wight, and strange and picturesque Cloverly, and venerable Hermanstow, with its Norman tower looking, as the rare old vicar did, into the ocean's mystery? Since reading it, I seem to have been with you all the way. Did John Oak or his uncle seem aware that they were carrying a third passenger, like the boatman in Uhland's ballad, and did you pay double fare on my account?"[120]

In an unpublished letter to Mrs. Fields, dated Amesbury, 10th mo., 29, 1886, Whittier speaks again of this ballad:[121] "The very thought of your visit here makes me happy. . . . Like the invisible boatman in the German ballad, I rode with you all the way to Berwich."

W. Sloane Kennedy[122] calls attention to the similarity of Platen's *Grab im Busento* and Whittier's *Funeral Tree of the Sokokis:* "The latter well-known poem is pitched in as high and solemn a key as Platen's *Grab im Busento,* a poem similar in theme to Whittier's."

It is hardly likely that Whittier was influenced by Platen's poem. He nowhere mentions Platen in his works or letters. In a note[123] to the poem he tells us that the theme was taken from an actual occurrence amongst the Sokokis Indians around Casco Bay; so that it seems to be mere chance that the themes resemble each other.

The Devil Legends, Faust and Goethe.

If one searches the pages of the papers edited by Whittier between the years 1828 and 1838, one will find that the legends in connection with the devil and the Faust story were occupying Whittier's mind.

In *The Essex Gazette* for September 27, 1828, is a lengthy synopsis of the interesting story of German folklore; of the

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[120] Pickard's *Life of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 681. The original letter is in possession of Mrs. James T. Fields, Boston, Mass.

[121] Original letter owned by Mrs. Fields.

[122] *J. G. Whittier, His Life, Genius and Writings,* by W. S. Kennedy, Boston, 1883.

[123] Whittier's *Poems,* Cambridge Edition, page 11.

hunter, who, by a compact with the devil, obtained a certain number of bullets destined to hit, without fail, whatever object he wished.

The first time that the story was made use of in literature, was by Johann August Apel in his *Gespensterbuch,* and it is from a translation of this that Whittier makes his synopsis. The title of Whittier's story reads *Der Freischutz,* or *The Magic Ball,* from the German of A. Apel.[124] The work has no signature, but A. W. Thayer, at that time editor of the paper, has marked it as Whittier's. At times the work is mere synopsis; at other times he quotes directly from the translation.

The synopsis begins with the following introductory remarks:

"There is a wildness of conception in this singular production, equalled only by the awful grandeur of its descriptions. Our interest is, at the commencement, strongly excited, and supported through the whole with a strange and fearful intensity, which more than once during the progress of the tale rises almost to a feeling of horror. The scene is laid in a wild and romantic district of Germany; and the tale commences with a discourse between Betram, the forester of Lindenhayn, and his wife Anne, on the subject of their daughter's marriage."

Whittier again mentions *Der Frieschutz* in the article on *The Agency of Evil:*[125]

"They stood there on their little patch of sanctified territory like the gamekeeper of Der Freischutz in the charmed circle; within were prayer and fasting, unmelodious psalmody and solemn hewing of heretics 'before the Lord in Gilgal'."

The Everlasting Taper.

This story appeared first in *The New England Review* for September 5, 1831, and again in *The Essex Gazette* for February 11, 1832. It is evident that he had the Faust theme in his mind, as he says at the beginning of the story: "It is an old narration, and would figure well in an improved edition of *Faust's* Mephis-

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[124] *Tales of the Wild and the Wonderful,* published in London, 1825; Philadelphia, 1826, page 97.

[125] Vol. III, *Prose Works,* page 257, Riverside Edition.

topholes." The fact that Whittier published the story again in the month after Goethe's death seems also significant. The scene of the story is laid in France, however, and not in Germany. It has, as Whittier says, several things in common with the Faust legends. The devil appears in the form of a monkey; and in the old Faust legends[126] there appear to Faust a whole legion of lesser devils in the form of apes, boars, stags, bears, wolves, goats, etc., "mit denen sich Faust lustig macht". In the stories connected with Faust's famulus, Wagner,[127] Faust wills to him before his death his possessions and procures for him a serving spirit in the form of a monkey named "Auerhahn". However it was a common thing in the sixteenth century to think of an ape as having near relationship to the devil.[128]

The compact for thirty years is also to be found in the stories connected with Wagner, as his "Pact"[129] with the "Affe, Auerhahn" was for thirty years. The halving the time of the contract by counting days and nights separately is also found in the Puppet plays of Faust.

As the story is an interesting one and is not included in Whittier's collected works it is given in full in the appendix.

The Gretchen theme was in Whittier's mind also during these years, as he writes a prose story and several poems, not included in his collected works, on the theme of wronged love.

However, episodes in the life and works of Lord Byron influenced his thoughts, as he refers a number of times to Don Juan and to Byron's life. In *The New England Review* for September 13, 1830, is a poem, *The Spectre,* founded, as Whittier says in a note, on an episode in Lord Byron's life, in which he tires of the girl whose ruin he has caused and brings her to a sad death.

In the number of *The Review* for October 11, 1830, Whittier publishes a tale, *The Skeptic,* of a German university student

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[126] See Carl Kiesewetter, *Faust in der Gerschichte und Tradition,* Leipzig, 1893, page 202.

[127] See Carl Kiesewetter, *Faust in der Gerschichte und Tradition,* page 499.

[128] See Luther's *Tischreden,* Edition Förstemann, III, S. 34, also S. 48.

[129] See *Kiesewetter,* page 499.

and his wicked companion, Faustendorff, with the introductory remarks:

"The following tale will be read with interest. It is a thrilling development of the horrible effects of infidelity on the human heart—a deadly Sirocco, blasting everything fresh and beautiful in the human heart."—*Ed. Review.*

The Proselytes.

In *The New England Magazine* for September, 1833, appeared *The Proselytes,* a story of William Penn's visit to Germany and Holland in 1667. Here we see the student at his books, seeking for the truth which he can not fathom, but instead of a Mephistopheles appearing, a devil to lead his soul to destruction, while giving him all earthly knowledge, appears a good angel, in the form of a Quaker, William Penn, to bring him to the knowledge of truth.

As this story[130] is included in Whittier's collected works, it is not given here.

In 1835 in *The Demon of the Study,*[131] Whittier mentions devils of all descriptions and describes the reading demon. He says of the devil of Faust and of the devil of Martin Luther in this poem:

> "The friend of Faust was a faithful one,
> Agrippa's demon wrought in fear,
> And the devil of Martin Luther sat
> By the stout monk's side in social chat."

The ballad,[132] *The New Wife and the Old,* 1843, is founded on one of the New England legends about General Moulton, of Hampton, N. H. Whittier says of him in a note to the poem: "He was regarded by his neighbors as a Yankee Faust, in league with the adversary."

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[130] *Prose Works,* Vol. 1, page 305.
[131] *Poetical Works,* Cambridge Edition, page 6.
[132] Cambridge Edition, page 21.

In 1846, in an article on *Thomas Carlyle and the Slave Question,*[133] Whittier speaks of Carlyle's ideas on the subject as doing "honor to the devil of Faust":

"A late number of *Fraser's Magazine* contains an article bearing the unmistakable impress of the Anglo-German peculiarities of Thomas Carlyle, entitled *An Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question,* which would be interesting as a literary curiosity were it not in spirit and tendency so unspeakably wicked as to excite in every right-minded reader a feeling of amazement and disgust. With a hard, brutal audacity, a blasphemous irreverence, and a sneering mockery which would do honor to the devil of *Faust,* it takes issue with the moral sense of mankind and the precepts of Christianity."

Later in the same article,[134] in speaking of Carlyle, he refers to the devil legend made use of by Hauff in his story, *Das Kalte Herz:*

"His heart has got much on the wrong side; or rather, he seems to us very much in the condition of the coalburner in the German tale, who had swapped his heart of flesh for a cobblestone."

In the poem *My Soul and I,*[135] 1847, questions of doubt and the soul's desire to fathom the unknown mysteries occupy the poet's mind.

"What my soul, was thy errand here?
Was it mirth or ease,
Or heaping up dust from year to year?
'Nay, none of these!'

* * * * *

"And where art thou going, soul of mine?
Can'st see the end?
And whither this troubled life of mine
Evermore doth tend?

* * * * *

[133] *Prose Works,* Vol. III, page 133.
[134] *Prose Works,* Vol. III, page 144.
[135] *Poetical Works,* Cambridge Edition, page 426.

"I call on the souls who have left the light
To reveal their lot;
I bend mine ear to that wall of night,
And they answer not.

"But I hear around me sighs of pain
And the cry of fear,
And the sound like the slow sad dripping of rain,
Each drop a tear!

"Ah, the cloud is dark, and day by day
I am moving thither:
I must pass beneath it on my way—
God pity me!—Whither?"

He confesses himself unable to answer these questions, but takes refuge in Faith:

"Know well, my soul, God's hand controls
Whate'er thou fearest,
Round him in calmest music rolls
Whate'er thou hearest.

* * * * *

"Nothing before, nothing behind;
The steps of Faith
Fall on the seeming void, and find
The rock beneath."

And as Goethe solves the question in the second part of *Faust,* so to Whittier, salvation lies in love and service:

"O restless spirit! wherefore strain
Beyond thy sphere?
Heaven and Hell, with their joy and pain,
Are now and here.

"Back to thyself is measured well
All thou hast given;
Thy neighbor's wrong is thy present hell
His bliss, thy heaven."

In *The Chapel of the Hermits,* 1851, Whittier uses as theme for his poem an incident related in a note to Bernardin Henri Saint Pierre's *Étude de la Nature.*

It is a time in Pierre's life where he is in a condition of doubt and despair in his search after truth. He finds help in an incident which occurs at a chapel of the Hermits, which he had visited with J. J. Rousseau, and which is told in the poem. Whittier says Pierre attributed his improved state of mind to the counsels of Rousseau and quotes from Pierre:[136] "I threw my eyes upon the works of nature, which spake to all my senses a language which neither time nor nations have it in their power to alter. . . . I derived inexpressible satisfaction from his society. . . . Even when he deviated, and became the victim of himself or of others, he could forget his own misery in devotion to the welfare of mankind. . . . *His sins, which are many, are forgiven, for he loved much.*"

Here again we have the theme of the Goethian solution of salvation through works, in the life of the great French author.

In the poem *Questions of Life,*[137] 1852, Whittier again takes up questions into the mysteries of life.

In the poem *The Haschisch,* 1854, Whittier refers to Walpurgis Nacht:

> "The poppy visions of Cathay,
> The heavy beer-trance of the Swabian;
> The wizard lights and demon play
> Of nights Walpurgis and Arabian!"[138]

As has been mentioned, the translator Charles T. Brooks was a friend of Whittier and there is a copy of Brooks' translation of *Faust* in Whittier's Library in Amesbury.

In an unpublished letter to James T. Fields from Whittier, Amesbury, 4th, 1st mo., 1857, he writes:[139] "I am delighted with Brooks' *Faust.* It gives me for the first time an agreeable idea of Goethe's genius."

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[136] Cambridge Edition of *Poetical Works,* page 39. See headnote to poem.
[137] Cambridge Edition of *Poetical Works,* page 432.
[138] Cambridge Edition of *Poetical Works,* page 316.
[139] Original letter in possession of Mrs. Annie Fields, Boston, Mass.

This translation was published in 1856, so it is too late to have influenced our author in the works we have just discussed, but there were other opportunities for Whittier to get acquainted with Goethe's *Faust.* As early as 1825 there was an English translation[140] by Lord Francis L. Gower. Even if Whittier may not have seen this, there were translations and reviews of *Faust* in a number of the periodicals[141] which Whittier read, chief among these were *The North American Review, The Quarterly Review,* and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Review.*

Frank P. Stearns remarks in his *Sketches from Concord and Appledore*[142] that Whittier read the translation of *Faust,* presented to him by Bayard Taylor, but he read it for the sake of old acquaintance; but he did not like it and wondered especially what explanation Goethe's apologists could make for the strange and extraordinary characters in the second part.

Stearns' statement does not agree with the view expressed in the letter to Fields, written many years before the appearance of Taylor's translation.

In answer to my inquiries, Mr. Stearns writes in a letter dated from Arlington Heights, Mass., November 25, 1914:

"Whittier made the statement, you quote, to me at the Isle of Shoals; but he had a high opinion of Goethe's and Schiller's minor poems.

Faithfully,

FRANK P. STEARNS."

As Stearns does not state at what period of our poet's life this was, I assume that it was early, as Whittier, like Emerson and many others of his day in New England, changed his attitude later in regard to Goethe. Whittier expresses distinctly his appreciation of Goethe in 1870, when Bayard Taylor published his translation of *Faust.* As these views are quoted in the chapter on Bayard Taylor, they are not further discussed here.

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[140] See Goedekes *Grundriss,* Bd. IV, S. 52.

[141] See *German Lit. in Am. Maga.* prior to 1846, by Scott Holland Goodnight, University of Wis. Diss. 1907.

[142] Sketches from Concord & Appledore, by Frank Preston Stearns, 1895, page 263.

Translation of Der Erlkönig.

Whittier was occupied with other Goethe themes besides the Faust questions, and translated the *Erlkönig,* as Mr. Pickard thinks, about 1840. It has not appeared in print except in the *Goethe Jahrbuch,*[143] where it may be found with the following note by Ludwig Geiger:

"Englische Übersetzung des Erlkönigs.

"John G. Whittier, 17. Dezember 1807 bis 7. September 1892, der Sohn eines armen Farmers, besuchte erst in seinem 20sten Jahre die Howerhill Academy.[144] Er war 1828-1829 Redakteur des *Free Manufacturer,* von 1830 an der *Essex Gazette;* 1836 wurde er Sekretär der Anti-Slavery Society, und redigierte 1838-1839 deren Organ, *The Pennsylvania Freeman.* Er trägt den Namen des Quäkerdichters und erfreut sich bei seinen Landsleuten grosser Werthschätzung. Die nachfolgende ungedruckte Übersetzung, die vor vielen Jahren gemacht ist, wurde mir aus dem Original von Herrn William A. Speck in Haverstraw, New York, mitgeteilt.

Ludwig Geiger."

The Erl-King.

(*Goethe.*)

1.

Who rides so late through the night-wind wild?
It is a father with his child
He has him well in his circling arm;
He holds him safe, he holds him warm.

2.

"My son! why hid'st thou thy face in fear?"
"See'st thou not father, the Erl-King near?
The Erl-King is here with crown and train."
"My son! 'tis a fog-wreath on the plain."

3.

"My dearest child come go with me,
Many fine games I'll play with thee,

[143] Goethe Jahrbuch, Bd. XXV, S. 233.

[144] Haverhill Academy.

Many-hued flowers on the strand unfold,
And my mother has many fine robes of gold."

4.

"My father! my father! dost thou not hear
What the Erl-King promises low in my ear?"
"Be quiet, rest quiet my child" he said
" 'Tis the wind that sounds in the leaves so dead."

5.

"Thou beautiful child, wilt thou go with me?
My fair young daughters shall wait on thee,
My daughters nightly their sport shall bring
And rock thee softly and dance and sing."

6.

"My father! my father! dost thou not trace
The Erl-King's daughters in yon drear place?"
"My son, my son! I see it there—
'Tis the shade of the willow so old and bare."

7.

"I love thee—thy fair face charms me so,
If thou art not willing by force thou must go."
"My father, my father! I feel his arm,
The Erl-King has done me a grievous harm."

8.

The father shudders; he rides on wild!
He holds in his arms the moaning child,
He reaches his home with trouble and dread,
But the child he holds in his arms is dead!

Whittier's original manuscript of the Erl-King with an English translation by another hand, A. Geoghegan, and a clipping, giving Goethe's first suggestion for its writing, was sold February 6, 1903, at an auction sale of Whittier manuscripts by John Anderson, Jr., Auctioneers of Literary Property, New York, and was purchased by Mr. William A. Speck, Curator of the Collection in Modern German Literature, Yale University. With his permission, I publish the translation by Geoghegan:

THE ERLKING.

(*Translated by A. Geoghegan.*)

1.

Who rides at this hour in night so wild?
It is the father with his dear child,
He has the boy firm clasped in his arm,
He holds him closely to keep him warm.

2.

"My son, why bury thy face as in fear?"
"See, father, see the Erlking draws near!
The Erlking crowned, with elf and sprite!"
"My son, 'tis but the mist of night!"

3.

Come, darling child, come, go with me,
And pleasant games I'll play with thee,
Sweet flowers blow in my garden fair,
And my mother has garments radiant and rare.

4.

"O father, my father, and can'st thou not hear
The words the Erlking speaks low in mine ear?"
"Be still, be still: rest peaceful, my son,
In withered leaves the night-wind makes moan."

5.

Wilt go, sweet boy, wilt go with me?
My daughters shall thy fair nurses be,
They shall every night merry festival keep,
And rock thee with dancing and singing to sleep.

6.

"O father, my father, and see'st thou not there
Erlking's dark daughters sweep fierce in the air?"
"My son, my son, quite plainly I see,
'Tis nought but the boughs of yon willow tree."

7.

I love thee, I long for that fair form of thine,
Shrink not from me now, for by force thou art mine.
"O father, my father, he tears me from thee,
Some deadly harm he hath done to me."

8.

The father shudders, he spurs the steed on,
And close to his bosom he presses his son,
He gains his home, all trembling with dread,
But in his strong arms the child was dead.

Whittier's version is by far superior to Geoghegan's. In the first stanza, though Whittier has improved it by his better choice in some of the words, and in smoothness of rhyme, he preserves the same end-rhymes as his model; and this is true also of the first two verses of the second, third, fourth and fifth stanzas; but in the last two verses of each of these stanzas he employs a different rhyme. In the sixth and seventh stanzas, he employs throughout different rhymes. The last two verses of the sixth seem to me smoother and the choice of words better in the model, while in the seventh, Whittier has greatly improved on the model. In the eighth, the last two verses closely resemble those of Geoghegan. Whittier probably knew Walter Scott's translation and he may have known Lewis', but does not seem to have been influenced by them.

Whittier expresses his appreciation of the beauty in Goethe's works in his poem[145] "To ————", 1840.

"Beauty such as Goethe pictures,
Such as Shelly dreamed of, shed
Living warmth and starry brightness
Round that poor man's head."

In *The Middlesex Standard* for December 19, 1844, of which Whittier was editor, appeared *The Treasure Seeker,* a translation of Goethe's *Der Schatzgräber,* copied from the poems and ballads of Goethe, in *Blackwood's.*[146]

In the literary notices in *The National Era* for July 14, 1853, in a review, by J. G. W., of *Thalatta: A Book for the Sea-side,* Boston, Reed, Ticknor, and Fields, he refers to Goethe's *Fisher.*

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[145] *Poetical Works,* Cambridge Edition, page 172.

[146] This translation is in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for October, 1844, pages 423-24.

In his poem[147] to James T. Fields, 1858, Whittier's opinion of Goethe seems to agree with Mr. Frank Stearns' statement:

"Better his lot whose axe is swung
In Wartburg's woods, or that poor girl's
Who by the Ilm her spindle whirls
And sings the songs that Luther sung,

"Than his who, old and cold, and vain
At Weimar sat, a demigod,
And bowed with Jove's imperial nod
His votaries in and out again!"

He quotes from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* in the following from *John Woolman's Journal,* 1871:

"Some idea of the lively interest which the fine literary circle gathered around the hearth of Lamb felt in the beautiful simplicity of Woolman's pages may be had from the diary of Henry Crabb Robinson, one of their number, himself a man of wide and varied culture, the intimate friend of Goethe, Wordsworth, and Coleridge. In his notes for the first month, 1824, he says, after a reference to a sermon of his friend Irving, which he feared would deter rather than promote belief: "How different this from *John Woolman's Journal* I have been reading at the same time! A perfect gem! His is a *schöne Seele,* a beautiful soul."[148]

In 1873, in the introduction to *Child Life in Prose,* Whittier refers again to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*[149] and speaks with appreciation of the sweetness of the "child-figure, Mignon".

Whittier and Romanticism.

The *Romantic school,* as applied to a movement in German literature, was a revolt against methods and traditions which claimed authority as classical. Classicism was an appeal to the intellect, romanticism to the imagination, and a return to the

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[147] *Poetical Works,* Cambridge Edition, page 198.

[148] Riverside Edition of *Prose Works,* page 317, Vol. III.

[149] The reference is quoted later under the chapter on *Child Life.*

romantic past. In the dawning days of the nineteenth century German influence was potent beyond all others. In France the movement was represented by such men as Victor Hugo and Lamartine, and in England by Scott, Byron, Tennyson and a host of others. The movement spread to New England and declared itself in Whittier and Longfellow and Lowell, in Hawthorne and Emerson and others. Whittier's part in the movement was important, as he goes at his work directly. He is at his best in writing the legendary past of New England. Attention has already been called to the influence of Lord Byron on his works in the years 1829-33. We have just read in the last chapter, of his interest in the German and French legends in connection with the devil, and in a later chapter, we will see that he made use of other German legends for some of his poems.

His early romanticism may be illustrated in a poem not included in his works, which appeared in *The New England Review,* July 25, 1831, *The Demon's Cave,* with the following note: "In the town of Chester, N. H., is a singular cavern known by the name of *The Devil's Den.* Its entrance is on the southern side of a rugged hill. It winds into the hill to a considerable distance, and contains several large rooms or chambers. The early settlers of the place supposed it to be the residence of the Arch Enemy." The poem contains six stanzas. The last reads as follows:

"And yet there is something to romance dear,
In this shadowy cave and its lingering fear,
Something which tells of another age—
Of the wizard's wand, and the Sibyl's page—
Of the fairy ring, and the haunted glen—
Of the restless phantoms of murdered men—
Of the feasts and visions of dreamy youth
Ere they passed away at the glance of truth;—
And I love even now to list the tale
Of the Demon's Cave and its haunted vale!"

J. G. W.

The Rev. Thomas Tracy, a resident of Newburyport and a friend of Whittier's, was a student and translator of Ger-

man literature and through him some of the writers of the German Romantic school were opened up to Whittier. He speaks in his article on *Patucket Falls*[150] of Tracy's translation of *Undine:*

"My friend T.,[151] favorably known as the translator of *Undine* and as a writer of fine and delicate imagination, visited Spicket Falls before the sound of a hammer or the click of a trowel had been heard beside them. His journal of 'A Day on the Merrimac' gives a pleasing and vivid description of their original appearance as viewed through the telescope of a poetic fancy. The readers of *Undine* will thank me for a passage or two from this sketch."

In the article on *My Summer With Dr. Singletary*[152] he speaks again of Undine:

"Just back of the village, a bright, noisy stream, gushing out, like a merry laugh, from the walnut and oak woods which stretched far back to the north through a narrow break in the hills, turned the great wheel of a grist-mill, and went frolicking away, like a wicked Undine, under the very windows of the brown, lilac-shaded house of Deacon Warner, the miller, as if to tempt the good man's handsome daughters to take lessons in dancing."

And again in "To ————",[153] *Lines Written from a Summer Day's Excursion:*

"Varied as varying Nature's ways,
Sprites of the river, woodland fays,
Or mountain nymphs, ye seem,
Free limbed Dianas on the green,
Loch Katrine's Ellen, or *Undine,*
Upon your favorite stream."

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[150] Vol. I of *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, page 366.

[151] *Undine and Sintram and His Companions,* from the German of Fouqué by Rev. Thomas Tracy, in Wiley and Putnam's "Library of Choice Reading", No. III.

[152] Vol. I of *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, page 204.

[153] Whittier's *Poems,* Cambridge Edition, page 188.

And in *Our River:*[154]

"We only know the fond skies lean
Above it warm with blessing,
And the sweet soul of our Undine
Awakes to its caressing."

Also in *At School-Close:*[155]

"The joy of Undine soul possessed,
The wakening sense, the strange delight
That swelled the fabled statues breast
And filled its clouded eyes with sight."

And in *The Seeking of the Waterfall:*[156]

"Somewhere it laughed and sang, somewhere
Whirled in mad dance its misty hair,
But who had raised its veil, or seen
The rainbow skirts of that Undine?"

That Whittier was familiar with other works of Fouqué besides *Undine* is shown in the following passage in the article *The Agency of Evil:*[157]

"There is a beautiful moral in one of Fouqué's miniature romances,—*Die Köhlerfamilie.* The fierce spectre, which rose giant-like in its blood red mantle, before the selfish and mercenary merchant, ever increasing in size and terror with the growth of evil and impure thought in the mind of the latter, subdued by prayer, and penitence, and patient watchfulness over the heart's purity, became a loving and gentle visitation of soft light and meekest melody; 'a beautiful radiance, at times hovering and flowing on before the traveller, illuminating the bushes and foliage of the mountain-forest; a lustre strange and lovely, such as the soul may conceive, but no words express. He felt its power in the depths of his being,—felt it like the mystic breathing of the spirit of God'."

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[154] Whittier's *Poems*, Cambridge Edition, page 224.
[155] Whittier's *Poems*, Cambridge Edition, page 235.
[156] Whittier's *Poems*, Cambridge Edition, page 162.
[157] Whittier's *Prose Works*, Vol. III, Riverside Edition, page 263.

He speaks of Novalis in the article on *William Leggett:* "Holding, with Novalis, that the Christian religion is the root of all democracy and the highest fact in the rights of man, we regard the New Testament as the true political text-book, etc."[158]

And of Rahel Varnhagen von Ense in his poem "To ———":[159]

> "Or the blue-eyed German Rahel
> Half-unconscious taught."

The influence of Heine's *Lorelei* is shown in Whittier's verses from *The Witch of Wenham:*[160]

> "She weaves her golden hair, she sings
> Her spell-song low and faint."

Further Translation.

Besides the Erlking, about 1840, Whittier wrote a paraphrase of Spitta's *Geduld,* 1847. Another translation, which was published wrongly in two periodicals under the title of *Lines from the German Lamiter,* was in reality a translation from the French of Lamartine.

Lines From the German of Lamiter.

This translation appeared in *The Independent* for September, 1901 (Vol. 53, p. 2079), with the following note by S. T. Pickard: "There are hundreds of Whittier's early poems which were never placed by him in any collection of his works. They are to be found in the papers he edited, and to which he contributed in the days before he consecrated all his powers to humanitarian work. They gave him a measure of literary reputation which must have gratified him at the time, but when he was baptized into the new spirit which formed all his later work, he took pains to prevent the collection of the verses written in the vein of an outgrown ambition. His wish in this matter should be respected.

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[158] In Vol. II, *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, page 185.
[159] *Poetical Works,* Cambridge Edition, page 172.
[160] *Poetical Works,* Cambridge Edition, page 117.

And yet, while studying his early work, I find some poems which I fancy he would have preserved, if they had not been overlooked when making his selections. Among these is the paraphrase from the German, which I find in *The Liberator* of August 10, 1838." Then follows the poem:

(*Lines from the German of Lamiter by J. G. W.*)

"Thought after thought ye thronging rise,
Like spring doves from the startled wood,
Bearing like them your sacrifice
Of music unto God!
And shall these thoughts of joy and love
Come back again no more to me—
Returning like the patriarch's dove
Wing-weary from the eternal sea—
To bear within my longing arms
The promised bough of kindlier skies,
Plucked from the green immortal palms
Which shade the bowers of Paradise?

Child of the sea, the mountain stream
From its dark cavern hurries on,
Ceaseless by night and morning's beam,
By evening's star and noontide's sun—
Until at last it sinks to rest
O'erwearied in the waiting sea,
And moans upon its mother's breast
So turns my soul to thee."

There is no German writer with the name of Lamiter and, as has already been pointed out, these verses are a translation from the French of Lamartine.

The Liberator made the mistake of publishing "German of Lamiter" for *French of Lamartine* and Mr. Pickard copied it as he found it in *The Liberator.* How *The Liberator* could have made the mistake at the time seems very odd indeed, as the poem in which the lines occur: *Hymn, translated from the French of Lamartine,* by John G. Whittier, appeared the year before, 1837,[162] on its pages in the number of August 18th.

[162] The translation, *The Cry of My Soul,* appeared the year before in the *Essex Gazette,* July 30, 1836.

In Whittier's collected works are the translations of two odes from Lamartine;[163] *Encore un hymne*[164] and *Le cri de L'ame,* under the title, *Hymns from the French of Lamartine.*

If we compare the above verses with these, we will find that they are the same as his translations of "Encore un Hymne", beginning with the middle of the fifth stanza to the end of the sixth verse. The only difference being that in the *Liberator* for August 18, 1837, the last verse of the sixth stanza reads:

"Which shadow Paradise"[165]

while in August 10, 1838, it is printed—

"Which shade the bowers of Paradise."

Then one verse is omitted and the eighth stanza is given exactly the same as that of August 18, 1837, which is exactly like the eighth verse in Whittier's *Collected Poems.*

The Angel of Patience.

Whittier published *A Free Paraphrase of the German* in *The National Era,* May 13, 1847.

Among the unpublished letters in Amesbury, Mass., is the following letter[166] to Whittier from James Mearns, Curate of Owston, Owston Ferry, Rotherham, Eng., February 18, 1883:

"The work of tracing out translations from German hymns into English, for behoof of the Dictionary of Hymnology,[167] now in preparation for publication by Mr. John Murray, of London, has been assigned to me. A little poem of yours:

'To weary hearts, to mourning homes'

appears in a number of English and American collections. . . . In my copy of your 'Complete Poetical Works', 2d

[163] *Cambridge Edition,* pages 420-421.

[164] The ode *Encore Un Hymne* may be found in *Harmonies Poétiques et Réligieuses,* by De Lamartine, published by Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1911, page 205, and Le Cri de L'Ame, page 227.

[165] This is also the reading in the collected works.

[166] Original letter in possession of S. T. Pickard, Amesbury, Mass.

[167] *Dictionary of Hymnology,* published by John Murray, London, 1907.

Ed., London: Macmillan & Co., 1874, I find it page 121 among miscellaneous poems earlier than 1850, and marked 'A free paraphrase from the German'.

"I have not found anything so much resembling it as a hymn by C. J. P. Spitta in his *Psalter und Harfe,* 1883, the first stanza of which runs (five stanzas in all):

"Es zieht ein stiller Engel
Durch dieses Erdenland,
Zum Trost für Erdenmangel
Hat ihn der Herr gesandt.
In seinem Blick ist Frieden
Und milde, sanfte Huld,
O folg' ihm stets hienieden
Dem Engel der Geduld!"

In Murray's *Dictionary of Hymnology,*[168] we find the following: " 'Es zieht ein stiller Engel', C. J. P. Spitta. In the first series, 1833, of his *Psalter und Harfe* (p. 116) in five stanzas of eight lines, entitled *Patience.* This beautiful little poem appears in many recent collections of German sacred poetry, etc."

"The only translation in common use is: *To weary hearts, to mourning homes,* by J. G. Whittier, in four stanzas of six lines:

"Mr. Whittier informs us that it was written in 1845 and first published in his poems, Boston, U. S., 1849, page 262 in his Poetical Works, London: MacMillan & Co., 1847, page 121; it is correctly described as 'A free Paraphrase from the German'. It has been included in 'The South Place Collection, 1873, Dr. Martineau's *Hymns of Praise and Prayer,* 1873, and Horder's *Congregational Hymnal,* 1884; and in America, omitting stanza II in *Hedge and Huntingon's Collections,* 1853, *Plymouth Collections,* 1855, and *Baptist Praise Book,* 1871."

Whittier's poem follows Spitta's very closely in thought, and many of the single verses are almost exact translations. Spitta's

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Rev. James Mearns, M. A., Vicar of Rushden, Buntingford, was assistant editor.

[168] *A Dictionary of Hymnology,* edited by John Julian, D. D. Revised edition published by John Murray, London, 1907, page 355.

poem is entitled *Geduld* and Whittier's *The Angel of Patience.* The form and metre of the two hymns is different, however. There are four stanzas in Whittier's poem and five in Spitta's.[169] Whittier has but six verses in each stanza, while Spitta has eight.

The first two and last two verses of the first stanza of Whittier's poem resemble very closely the first four verses of Spitta's quoted above:

"To weary hearts, to mourning homes,
God's meekest angel gently comes:

* * * * *

And yet in tenderest love, our dear
And Heavenly Father sends him here."[170]

The first two verses of Whittier's second stanza are almost an exact translation of the fifth and sixth verses of Spitta's first stanza:

"In seinem Blick ist Frieden
Und milde, sanfte Huld."

"There's quiet in that angel's glance,
There's rest in his still countenance!"

The third stanza of Whittier's resembles throughout in thought the third stanza of Spitta's hymn:

3. "Er macht zu linder Wehmuth
Den herbsten Seelenschmerz
Und taugt in stille Demuth
Das ungestüme Herz,
Er macht die finstre Stunde
Allmählich wieder hell,
Er heilet jede Wunde
Gewiss, wenn auch nicht schnell."

Whittier's third stanza reads:

3. "Angel of Patience! sent to calm
Our feverish brows with cooling palm;

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[169] This may be found in C. J. P. Spitta; *Psalter und Harfe,* J. Kohler, Philadelphia, 1888, S. 116.

[170] Cambridge Edition of *Poetical Works,* page 425.

To lay the storms of hope and fear,
And reconcile life's smile and tear;
The throbs of wounded pride to still,
And make our own our Father's will!"

The last four verses of Whittier's second stanza contain the thought and are an exact translation of parts of Spitta's fourth stanza:

4. "Er zürnt nicht deinen Thränen
Wenn er dich trösten will,
Er tadelt nicht dein Sehnen,
Nur macht's fromm und still.
Und wenn im Sturmestoben
Du murrend fragst: warum?
So deutet er nach oben,
Mild lächelnd, aber stumm."

"He mocks no grief with idle cheer,
Nor wounds with words the mourner's ear
But ills and woes he may not cure
He kindly trains us to endure."

Whittier's last stanza is a combination in thought of the first part of Spitta's fifth stanza and the last part of the second stanza.

The first four verses of Spitta's fifth stanza are:

"Er hat für jede Frage
Nicht Antwort gleich bereit,
Sein Wahlspruch heisst: ertragen,
Die Ruhestatt ist nicht weit!"

The last four verses of the second stanza:

"Denn willst du ganz verzagen,
Hat er doch guten Muth;
Er hilft das Kreuz dir tragen,
Und macht noch alles gut."

Whittier's last stanza reads:

"O thou who mournest on thy way,
With longings for the close of day;
He walks with thee, that Angel kind,

And gently whispers, 'Be resigned:
Bear up, bear on, the end shall tell
The dear Lord ordereth all things well!' "

To Ronge.

Among the unpublished letters[171] to Whittier, is one to the poet from his cousin Ann E. Wendell, of Philadelphia, 12th mo., 24, 1846, written a few months before Whittier's poem *To Ronge* appeared. She speaks of a visit to her house of Benjamin Sebohm, of England, a native of Germany, and says:

"I inquired his opinion of Ronge and found it very unfavorable to him as a religious character, but that many of his followers were very conscientious dissenters from the Catholic Church; he says he is pastor of over 10,000 persons at Breslau. Czersky,[172] he spoke much more favorably of, thought him an experimental Christian; he had hoped the same of Ronge until he saw confessions of faith by which he was convinced that the omissions were not occasioned by ignorance, but by a disbelief in the truths he omitted; he has recently been in Germany and conversed with some of the followers of Ronge. I wish thee could have conversed with him about these things. Thou could have drawn forth so much more than I could."

Whittier's poem[173] appeared in *The Democratic Review* for March, 1846. The following head-note explains its origin:

"This was written after reading the powerful and manly protest of Johannes Ronge[174] against the 'pious fraud' of the Bishop of Treves. The bold movement of the young Catholic priest

[171] Letter in possession of Mr. Pickard, Amesbury, Mass.

[172] A few months before the congregation of German Catholics had been formed by Ronge in Breslau, a similar movement had been organized October, 1844, at Schneidemühle, under the leadership of their Vicar, Joh. Czerski. These dissenters from the Catholic Church called themselves Christian Catholics. Czerski attended the sessions of the German Catholics at Leipzig, but when the formulas of the faith were drawn up similar to what had been made at Breslau, he refused to sign because the Divinity of Christ had been ignored.

[173] Cambridge Edition of *Whittier's Poems,* page 179. The note is not in the *Democratic Review.*

[174] In the *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter* for October 15, 1844, he made a vigorous attack upon the Bishop Arnoldi of Trier, for having ordered the exposition of the holy coat of Trier, said to be the seamless robe of Christ. Numberless pilgrims made journeys to the Cathedral in Trier to get the

of Prussian Silesia seemed to me full of promise to the cause of political as well as religious liberty in Europe. That it failed was due partly to the faults of the reformer, but mainly to the disagreement of the Liberals of Germany upon a matter of dogma, which prevented them from unity of action. Ronge was born in Silesia in 1813 and died in October, 1887. His autobiography was translated into English and published in London in 1846."

Whittier's earnestness in matters of reform are well illustrated in this poem:

TO RONGE.

"Strike home, strong-hearted man! Down to the root
Of old oppression sink the Saxon steel.
Thy work is to hew down. In God's name then
Put nerve into thy task. Let other men
Plant, as they may, that better tree whose fruit
The wounded bosom of the Church shall heal.
Be thou the image-breaker. Let thy blows
Fall heavy as the Suabian's iron hand,
On crown or crosier, which shall interpose
Between thee and the weal of Fatherland.
Leave creeds to closet idlers. First of all,
Shake thou all German dream-land with the fall
Of that accursed tree, whose evil trunk
Was spared of old by Erfurt's stalwart monk.

* * * * *

Be warned by Luther's error. Nor like him
When the roused Teuton dashes from his limb
The rusted chain of ages, help to bind
His hands for whom thou claim'st the freedom of the mind."

ATTITUDE OF GERMANY TO SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following article by Whittier on the attitude of Germany to slavery in the United States appeared in *The National Era*, July 6, 1848, with the title, *Our Diplomacy-Trouble Abroad:*

benefit derived from this holy relic. Ronge's attack on the Bishop led to his excommunication. This brought him the sympathy of many people who were indignant over the frauds and evil practices of the church. Almost immediately a new sect was formed under his leadership at Breslau, December, 1844, bearing the name of German Catholics. Ronge now traveled from place to place preaching, and under his leadership new congregations sprung up in all parts of Germany. The movement, however, soon received checks by the government, as its members were suspected of undermining religion and of encouraging revolution.

"What from Germany, fermenting like its beer, with new republicanism? A society of abolition propagandism, composed of learned professors, statesmen and divines, just established for the express and avowed purpose of acting upon the slave system of the United States, through the German emigrants, who are fast filling up our new States and Territories. Hear its prospectus:

" 'Convinced of the necessity of using our utmost efforts for the abolition of slavery, as the most dreadful evil ever inflicted upon man, and the source of unutterable misery to millions of mankind;

" 'Persuaded that it has now become a sacred duty for the German people to unite with other nations in endeavoring to exterminate the high treason against the human race;

" 'Impressed, moreover with the conviction that it is our duty to preserve our countrymen, emigrating to countries where slavery exists, from its foul contamination,

" 'And having been repeatedly called upon by friends in the United States to assist in opposing the system of slavery which obtains there—We the undersigned, have constituted ourselves into a provisional committee, for the organization of a *German Society,* for the abolition of slavery, and have resolved from this time forth to take all such steps as may be necessary for accomplishing the desired end.'

"What from Austria and Hungary? A few years ago we remember seeing in the papers, a letter from an American travelling in Europe, who, writing from Vienna, states that he had a pleasant interview with Prince Metternich, and that when, on being asked his profession or employment at home, he answered that he was a planter and owned a large number of slaves. The Hungarian nobles in attendance congratulated him upon it, declaring that they too were slave-holders; and so Absolutism and Democracy shook hands together. Now, Prince Metternich has fled, and the Emperor is following him; and amidst shouts of freedom and equality, the downfall of serfdom is decreed."

J. G. W.

In an article in his prose works called *The Abolitionists,*[175] he refers to the earlier attitude of the Germans toward slavery:

"All history, ancient and modern, is full of warning on this point. Need I refer to the many revolts of the Roman and Grecian slaves, the bloody insurrection of Etruria, the horrible servile wars of Sicily and Capua? Or, to come down to later times, to France in the fourteenth century, Germany in the sixteenth, to Malta in the last?"

Whittier and the German Mystics.

Whittier has written three poems on the German mystics: *Tauler,* 1853, *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim,* 1872, *The Hymn of the Dunkers,* 1877, and *The Vision of Echard,* 1878. His interest in the mysticism of the East is clearly illustrated in his poems on Eastern subjects, and in many of his letters to his friends.

Mysticism appears in connection with the human mind to grasp the divine essence or the ultimate reality of things, and to enjoy the blessedness of actual communion with the highest. The first is the philosophic and theoretic side of mysticism, the second the religious and practical. The thought that is most intensely present with the mystic, is that of supreme, all-pervading, and indwelling power, in whom all things are one. Hence the utterances of mysticism are more or less speculative in character. On the practical side, it maintains the possibility of direct intercourse with God—not through any external media such as historical revelation, etc.—but by a species of ecstatic transfusion or identification, in which the individual becomes in very truth "partaker of the divine Nature". God ceases to be an object to him and becomes an experience.[176]

Mysticism is not a name applicable to any particular system; there have been mystical elements in various forms of religion from the earliest times. The German mind was a fruitful soil for mysticism, and its doctrines were formulated by Eckart at the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth

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[175] Riverside Edition of Whittier's *Prose Works,* Vol. III, page 71.

[176] *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

centuries. He developed the philosophical basis for German mysticism. In the fourteenth century German Mysticism is represented by such men as Tauler, Nicholas of Basle, and the unknown person who wrote the *Theologia Germanica,*[177] a translation of which is in Whittier's Library in Amesbury, Mass.

Whittier speaks in the highest praise of this book in *Dora Greenwell:*

"The unknown author of that book which Luther loved next to his Bible, the *Theologia Germanica,* is just as truly at home in this present age, and in the ultra Protestanism of New England; as in the heart of Catholic Europe, and in the fourteenth century. For such books know no limitations of time or place; they have the perpetual freshness and fitness of truth; they speak out of profound experience: heart answers to heart as we read them; the spirit that is in man, and the inspiration that giveth understanding, bear witness to them. The bent and stress of their testimony are the same, whether written in this or a past century, by Catholic or Quaker: self-renunciation,—reconcilement to the Divine will through simple faith in the Divine goodness, and the love of it which must needs follow its recognition, the life of Christ made our own by self-denial and sacrifice, and the fellowship of His suffering for the good of others, the indwelling Spirit, leading into all truth, the Divine Word nigh us, even in our hearts. They have little to do with creeds, or schemes of doctrine, or the partial and inadequate plans of salvation invented by human speculation and ascribed to Him who, it is sufficient to know, is able to save unto the uttermost all who trust in Him. They insist upon simple faith and holiness of life, rather than rituals or modes of worship; they leave the merely formal, ceremonial, and temporal part of religion to take care of itself, and earnestly seek for the substantial, the necessary, and the permanent."[178]

Tauler[179] was more practical in his teachings than Eckhart and touched on all sides the problems of spiritual and moral life.

[177] This treatise was discovered and published by Luther in 1516.

[178] Vol. III, Riverside Edition, *Prose Works,* page 285.

[179] Robertson, *History of German Literature,* page 167.

He, too, preached the complete union of the soul with God but avoided Eckhart's pantheism.

Like all true mystics, Tauler,[180] insists on the fact of an "Inner Light—the master light of all the soul's seeing." He says that the Friends of God have "an inward, divine knowledge, a Divine Light which illuminates them and raises them into union with God". "This light gives man all truth (alle Wahrheit)—a wonderful discernment, more perfect than can be gained in any other manner here below." "The vision of the eternal Light makes their souls so luminous that they could teach all men if the occasion for it came." "They become endowed (by this Divine Light) with a perfect conscience in respect to what they ought to do and what to leave undone." "The Divine illumination gives a man a marvellous discernment, more perfect than he is able to acquire on earth in any other manner." "In one short hour you can learn more from the inward voice than you could learn from a man in a thousand years."

I have dwelt especially on this part of the doctrine of the mystics which has a close affinity to the teachings of the Friends—the doctrine of guidance by the Inner Light or the voice within, and the belief in Divine inspiration. It is this that drew Whittier, who all his life remained true to the teachings of the Friends, to the mystics Eckhart and Tauler.

Dr. Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford College, himself a Friend, defines "Quakerism" as follows:[181] "The Society of Friends—a religious body which has made a serious attempt to unite inward, mystical religion with active social endeavors, and to maintain a religious fellowship with a rigid ecclesiastical system, and with large scope for personal initiative, immediate revelation and individual responsibility."

In an article on *Whittier the Mystic* in *The American Friend*,[182] Dr. Jones says: "I am using the term 'mystic' to mean one who has a direct consciousness of relationship with

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[180] Rufus M. Jones, *Mystical Religion*, page 276.

[181] *Mystical Religion*, by R. M. Jones. Introduction, page 33.

[182] *American Friend*, 12 mo. 12, 1907.

God." "Whittier is more fundamentally mystic than any other American poet. His mysticism does not rest on sporadic experience, or on isolated lines; it is a structural part of his way of thinking, and it is the very warp and woof of his poetry." He quotes from a letter to the *Friends' Review*, 2nd mo., 1870, in which Whittier says: "I have an unshaken faith in the one distinctive doctrine of Quakerism—the Light within—the Immanence of the Divine Spirit." "The future hope of our religion lies 'not in setting the letter above the spirit, not in substituting type and symbol, and oriental figure and hyperbole for the simple truths they were meant to represent; not in schools of theology; not in much speaking and noise and vehemence—but in heeding more closely the Inward Guide and Teacher, in faith in Christ; not merely in the historical manifestation of the Divine Love to humanity, but in his living presence in the heart open to receive him.' "

Tauler.

Whittier says of Tauler in *Dora Greenwell:*[183] "Tauler in medieval times and Woolman[184] in the last century are among the most earnest teachers of the inward life and spiritual nature of Christianity, yet both were distinguished for practical benevolence. They did not separate the two great commandments. Tauler strove with equal intensity of zeal to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of men. In the dark and evil time in which he lived, amidst the untold horrors of the "Black Plague", he illustrated by deeds of charity and mercy his doctrine of disinterested benevolence."

The poem on Tauler first appeared in *The National Era* for April 21, 1853.

In Whittier's Library is a book, *The Lives, Sentiments and Sufferings of Some of the Reformers and Martyrs,* by William Hodgson, Philadelphia, 1867, which contains the incident in Tauler's life, related in the poem. As Whittier's poem was writ-

[183] *Prose Works* of Whittier, Vol. III, pages 301-302. Riverside Edition.

[184] John Woolman—a distinguished minister of the Society of Friends and one of the first to protest against slavery in the United States.

ten much earlier, he could not, however, have made use of this book.

Whittier's power of describing vividly things that he had only seen through the eyes of his friends is well illustrated in his description of Strassburg Cathedral in this poem, where he says:

"So entering with a changed and cheerful step
The city gates, he saw, far down the street,
A mighty shadow break the light of noon,
Which tracing backward till its airy lines
Hardened to stony plinths, he raised his eyes
O'er broad facade and lofty pediment,
O'er architrave and freize and sainted niche,
Up the stone lace-work chiselled by the wise
Erwin of Steinbach, dizzily up to where
In the noon-brightness the great Minister's tower,
Jewelled with sunbeams on its mural crown,
Rose like a visible prayer."[185]

Echard.

Whittier's cousin, Mrs. Abbey J. Woodman,[186] writes of this poem: "Mr. Whittier thought diligently upon spiritual subjects, and was fond of discussions which disclosed the views of others upon themes regarding the exercise of Faith and trustful reliance upon divine Goodness,—a term which, in his comprehension, embraces the Power that controls the Universe. Such matters were the fire-side topics of conversation for many winter evenings previous to the writing and publication of his poem entitled, *The Vision of Echard,* a poem very dear to those who contemplated with its author each point of that far-reaching and significant 'Vision.' "

The poem appeared in the September number of *The Atlantic Monthly,* 1878, and the same year in book form; *The Vision of Echard* and other poems. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

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[185] Cambridge Edition of *Poems,* page 45.

[186] *Reminiscences of John G. Whittier's Life at Oak Knoll,* Danvers, Mass., by Mrs. Abbey J. Woodman, Salem, Mass., 1908, page 21.

The monk sits by the wayside well and dreams:

"He felt the heart of silence
Throb with a soundless word,
And by the inward ear alone
A spirit's voice he heard.

"And the spoken word seemed written
On air and wave and sod,
And the bending walls of sapphire
Blazed with the thought of God:"

* * * * *

The voice of God within his soul speaks to him:

"O blind ones, outward groping,
The idle quest forego,
Who listens to his inward voice.
Alone of him shall know.

"His love all love exceeding
The heart must needs recall,
Its self-surrendering freedom
Its loss that gaineth all.

* * * * *

"Have ye not still my witness
Within yourself alway,
My hand that on the keys of life
For bliss or bale I lay?

"Still, in perpetual judgment
I hold assize within,
With sure reward of holiness,
And dread rebuke of sin.

"A light, a guide, a warning,
A presence ever near,
Through the deep silence of the flesh
I reach the inward ear.

"My Gerizim and Ebal
Are in each human soul,
The still, small voice of blessing,
And Sinai's thunder roll.

"The stern behest of duty,
The doom-book open thrown,
The heaven ye seek, the hell ye fear,
Are with yourselves alone."

* * * * *

"Then up rose Master Echard,
And marvelled: 'Can it be
That here, in dream and vision,
The Lord hath talked with me?'

* * * * *

"He sought the vale of Elzbach
His burdened soul to free,
Where the foot-hills of the Eifel
Are glassed in Laachersee.

"And, in his Order's kloster,
He sat, in night-long parle,
With Tauler of the Friends of God,
And Nicholas of Basle.

"And lo! the twain made answer:
'Yea, brother, even thus
The Voice above all voices
Hath spoken unto us.

" 'The world will have its idols,
And flesh and sense their sign:
But the blinded eyes shall open,
And the gross ear be fine.

" 'What if the vision tarry?
God's time is always best,
The true Light shall be witnessed
The Christ within confessed.

" 'In mercy or in judgment
He shall turn and overturn
Till the heart shall be his temple
Where all of Him shall learn.' "

In the chapter on *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim,* Whittier's interest in the writings of Jacob Boehme, 1575-1624, the father of the chief development of mysticism in modern Germany, has

already been referred to. Boehme professed that a distinct and inward illumination was the only source of his speculation, but made no pretense to ecstatic raptures.

His works were translated into English and were known to George Fox and the early Quakers, upon whom they no doubt had great influence. Regular societies of Boehmenists were formed in England and Holland.

In Whittier's poem, *The Shoemakers,* he says of the shoemaker mystic of Görlitz:

> "Still from his book, a mystic seer,
> The soul of Behmen teaches."

We have seen also Whittier's references in *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim* to Philipp Jacob Spener, 1635-1705, the chief representative of German Pietism at the close of the seventeenth century.

Another poem of Whittier's on mysticism, is *The Mystic's Christmas,* 1882, which tells the story of a pious monk who sat apart from his brothers at the Christmas festival to find within himself the Christ spirit born:

> "I listen, from no mortal tongue,
> To hear the song the angels sung;
> And wait within myself to know
> The Christmas lilies bud and blow.
>
> "The outward symbols disappear
> From him whose inward sight is clear,
> And small must be the choice of days
> To him who fills them all with praise!
>
> "Keep while you need it, brothers mine,
> With honest zeal your Christmas sign,
> But judge not him who every morn
> Feels in his heart the Lord Christ born!"

Whittier's belief in guidance by the "Inner Light" is expressed in most of his religious poems.

B. O. Flower says of Whittier's mysticism: "Interesting as is the New England poet when considered as the inspired poet of freedom, as the charming lyric poet and graphic delineator of New England life, and dear as he is to us as the simple

and sincere man, it is as the true mystic or inspired teacher of the higher life, that he appeals especially to the large and rapidly increasing number of persons who, along various lines of thought and experience, are being brought today into what is essentially a deeply spiritual attitude. 'The voice of God within' or 'The Inner Light' is becoming a far greater reality to the conscience of our civilization than mammon worshipping and easy going conventionalists imagine."[187]

Flower cites *The Eternal Goodness*[188] and verses from *In Quest.*[189]

Rufus Jones in the article mentioned in *The American Friend,* quotes the following poems as illustrating especially the mysticism of our Quaker poets: *"My Namesake,*[190] *To—with a copy from John Woolman's Journal,*[191] *Trinitas,*[192] *The Shadow and the Light,*[193] *Andrew Rykman's Prayer,*[194] *The Meeting,*[195] and *In Quest."*[196]

Whittier and Transcendentalism.

Transcendentalism, according to the Kantian philosophy, is the transcending or going beyond empiricism, or human experience, and ascertaining *a priori* the fundamental principles of human knowledge. Kant insists that in ultimate matters of religion reason is not sufficient. Schelling and Hegel claim to have discovered the absolute identity of the objective and subjective in human knowledge, or of things and human conceptions of them; therefore with them, Transcendentalism claims to have a true knowledge of all things, material and immaterial, human and divine, as far as the mind is capable of knowing them. The

[187] *Whittier, Prophet, Seer and Man,* by B. O. Flower, Boston, 1896, page 105.

[188] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 442.

[189] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 451.

[190] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 393.

[191] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 171.

[192] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 434.

[193] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 437.

[194] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 439.

[195] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 445.

[196] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 451.

extreme views of the empiricists trust to experience alone; while the extreme Transcendentalists lose sight of the relations, which facts and phenomena sustain to be principles, and hence lead to a kind of philosophy, or a use of language, which is vague, obscure, fantastic, or extravagant. The most famous example of the pseudo-philosophic use of the term, is for a movement of thought, which was prominent in New England from about 1830 to 1850. This movement has several aspects, philosophical, theological, social and economic. It took its rise to a large extent in the study of German (and to a less extent of French) philosophy at a time when German philosophy was most metaphysical and German literature most romantic. "Before Channing died, in 1842, you could find in Boston few educated people who could not talk with glib delight about German philosophy, German literature, and German music."[197]

The chief organ of the Transcendentalists was *The Dial* and its moving spirit, the editor, Margaret Fuller, who translated many of the works of the German Transcendentalists and wrote articles defending them. Her favorite German author was Goethe. The movement was the American *Storm and Stress,* a revolution against conventionality, a movement of inquiry, and assertion of the worth and dignity of the individual. Individuality, self-reliance, personal development, inspiration, the *over-soul,* mind the only reality; these were constant expressions used by the writers of the movement. "The Transcendentalists were too far from orthodox to trouble themselves about a Christian God, but they believed in the *Inner Light* as enthusiastically as ever Quakers did, and they followed it almost as ardently."[198]

The doctrines of Transcendentalism and Quakerism are thus compared by William Sloane Kennedy:[199]

"The principles of the sect are all summed up in the phrases Freedom and the Inner Light. Historically considered, Quaker-

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[197] *Literary History of America,* by Barrett Wendell, New York, 1911, page 296.

[198] *A Literary History of America,* by Barrett Wendell, 1911, page 299.

[199] William Sloane Kennedy, *John G. Whittier, His Life, Genius and Writings,* Boston, 1892, page 182.

ism is a product of the ferment that followed the Civil War in England two centuries ago. Considered abstractly, or as a congeries of principles, it has a sociological and a philosophical root, both of these running back into the great tap-root, love of freedom. . . . Sociologically speaking, Quakerism is pure democracy, an exaltation of the majesty of the individual and of the mass of the people. It is the pure precipitate of Christianity. It is a protest against the hypocrisy, formalism and tyranny of priestcraft, kingcraft and aristocracy. Philosophically, its theory of the Inner Light is identical with the doctrine of idealism or innate ideas held by Descartes, Fichte, Schelling and Cousin. It means individualism, a return to the primal sanities of the soul. In the words of Descartes, 'I think, therefore, I am'. My thinking soul is the ultimate source of ideas and truth. In that serene holy of holies full-grown ideas leap into being—subjective, *a priori,* needing no sense preception for their genesis.

"But Transcendentalism differed from Quakerism in this: the former held that the illumination of the mind was a natural process; but Quakerism maintains that it is a supernatural process, the work of the Holy Ghost. And herein Quakerism is inferior to Transcendentalism. But it is superior to it in that it does not believe in the infallibility of individual institutions, but considers the true criterion of truth to be the universal reason, the consensus of the competent."

George Willis Cooke[200] says it is impossible to separate the movement of Transcendentalism from the names of Emerson, Lowell, Thorean, Whittier, Whitman and a large company of our lesser poets and prose writers.

However, only where the Friends' belief agrees with that of the Transcendentalists, *i. e.,* the belief in guidance by the Inner Light and the emphasis which they put upon faith,—so far is Whittier a Transcendentalist, but no further. Their vague, metaphysical conceptions did not appeal to him and he expresses

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[200] *The Poets of Transcendentalism,* an Anthology, by Geo. Willis Cooke, Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1903. Introduction.

his views most energetically on the subject, in an editorial in *The National Era,* September 16, 1847, on *The Herald of Truth,* published at Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, editor. Whittier praises the paper and goes on to say:

"Of the philosophy and religious views of *The Herald,* we can only say that we have not been able so fully to comprehend them, as to be qualified to sit in judgment upon them. We have occasionally noted a degree of assumption and dogmatism, which by no means commends itself to our taste. Some of its writers, moreover, deal quite too freely in the *cant* of Transcendentalism.[201] Plain, common, old-fashioned Saxon words furnish the best medium of thought. The apostle never gave sounder advice than that which discouraged among his disciples the use of 'unknown tongues'. He tells us, indeed, that 'he that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself', but we greatly question whether the same could be said of our modern philosophy, while engaged in 'airing its vocabulary'."

Earlier than this, in a letter to Edward Everett,[202] Governor of Massachusetts, in *The Liberator* of February 20, 1836, referring to Everett's doctrines on anti-slavery, he says of German metaphysics:

"If sir, in the Aulae of Göttingen—if amidst the wild mysteries of German metaphysics, I had imbibed doctrines like these, I would have turned my back forever on my native land."

In Whittier's *Stranger in Lowell,*[203] occurs this reference to Transcendental philosophy:

"That comfortable philosophy which modern Transcendentalism has but dimly shadowed forth—that poetic agrarianism, which gives all to each and each to all—is the real life of this City of Unwork."

In a review of *Mirth and Medicine,* poems by Oliver Wendell Holmes (Boston: Ticknor & Company), in *The National Era,* January 11, 1849, Whittier remarks:

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[201] The word cant was written in italics.

[202] This article is quoted more fully under Luther's hymn, "Ein feste Burg, etc.".

[203] *The Stranger in Lowell,* by John Greenleaf Whittier, Boston, 1845, page 73.

"Witness this thrust at our *German-English* writers:

" 'Essays so dark, Champollion might despair
To guess what mummy of a thought was there,
Where our poor English, striped with foreign phrase,
Looks like a zebra in a parson's chaise.'

"Or this at our *Transcendental* friends:

" 'Deluded infants! will they never know
Some doubts must darken o'er the world below,
Though all the Platos of the nursery trail
Their clouds of glory at the go-cart's tail.'

"The chief defect of the poetry of Transcendentalism is that it is too philosophical. Its largest intent is ethical or religious and not artistic. Beauty is not its chief inspiration, but thought. . . . It is not written to please, but to convince. It contains a gospel and not an appeal to emotion or imagination. . . . These poets are not singers, but preachers. . . . Too metaphysical, subtle and complicated in thought to sing themselves clearly and strongly out into beautiful words."[204]

Whittier expresses this thought, too, in his article on *Robert Duismore:*

"Our poetry is cold and imitative; it seems more the product of overstrained intellects than the spontaneous outgushing of hearts warm with love, and strongly sympathizing with human nature as it naturally exists about us, with the joys and griefs of the men and women that we meet daily. Unhappily the opinion prevails that a poet must be also a philosopher, and hence it is that much of our poetry is as indefinable in its mysticism as an Indian Brahmin's Commentary on his sacred books, or German metaphysics subjected to homœopathic dilution. It assumes to be prophetical, and its utterances are oracular. It tells of strange, vague emotions and yearnings, painfully suggestive of spiritual 'groanings which cannot be uttered'. If it 'babbles o' green fields' and the common sights and sounds of nature, it is only for the

[204] *The Poets of Transcendentalism,* an Anthology, by Geo. W. Cooke, 1903. Introduction.

purpose of finding some vague analogy between them and its internal experiences and longings. It leaves the warm and comfortable fireside of actual knowledge and human comprehension, and goes wailing and gibbering like a ghost about the impassible doors of mystery."[205]

In the letter of Ann E. Wendell, of Philadelphia, to Whittier, which was mentioned under Ronge, she makes especial mention of the Transcendentalists and of Goethe:

"Philadelphia, 12 mo. 24, 1846.

"Thou knowest, I suppose, that two ministers are here from England, Benjamin Sebohm, a native of *Germany*, tho' many years a resident of England. We have had an interesting visit from them. B. S. is a man intellectually as well as spiritually gifted, he seems thoroughly conversant with the religious and literary history of Germany—a German work lying on the table led him to remark that German authors should be read with caution, particularly those which have of late years been so freely circulated in this country and in England; he thought transcendentalism was unitarianism—that our Dr. Channing drank of it so deeply and wrote so beautifully that his influence had done much to render it so fascinating here; it was, he said, a beautiful porch leading to nothing & furthermore he said that these German authors, wh. are now read with so much interest, have many of them passed their day in Germany and the authors themselves were ashamed of their own works; & he mentioned the names of several who have successfully controverted the transcendental writers; but they were all new to me and I doubt whether they have ever been translated. He seems well acquainted with Goethe and spoke of him as having done a great deal for the literature of Germany, tho erroneous in many of his views, but as he advanced in life he made advances towards something like religious belief, wh., after having written a decidedly infidel work at the age of 17 & living during the most extensive prevalence of French infidelity—manifested a desire to come at the truth. . . . I wish thee could have conversed with him about these

[205] *Prose Works,* Vol. II, Riverside Edition, page 246.

things. Thou could have drawn forth so much more than I could."

LUTHER.

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.

This anti-slavery poem with the title of Luther's hymn appeared first in *The New York Independent* for June 13, 1861.

"Probably no other of Whittier's war hymns had such wide and immediate effect upon the popular mind as the one set to the music of Luther's hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,* beginning with the lines:

'We wait beneath the furnace blast
The pangs of transformation.'

It was read in the Cabinet of the President, in every household in the North, and sung in the Union camps."[206]

In a poem,[207] *The Memory of Burns,* our poet says of Luther's hymns:

"How sweetly come the holy psalms
From saints and martyrs down,
The waving of triumphal palms
Above the thorny crown!
The choral praise, the chanted prayers,
From harps by angels strung,
The hunted Cameron's mountain airs,
The hymns that Luther sung!"

The character of the reformer, Luther, appealed strongly to the reformer, Whittier. Again and again Whittier refers to the stout-hearted German.

In an article in *The Essex Gazette,* Haverhill, Mass., August 16, 1834, *The Defense of Abolitionists,* by J. G. Whittier, he says: "What was it, when Luther dashed the foot of Papal supremacy from the neck of Germany and shook the quiet of all Christendom?"

In the stirring letter (quoted in a preceding paragraph) to Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts, published in *The*

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[206] S. T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* pages 467-8.
[207] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 199.

Liberator, of Saturday, February 20, 1836, occurs this passage: "Why in the stormy days of the Reformation did Luther and his followers expose the corruption and fraud of all-grasping Rome? It will irritate the masters! and why then do our orators, thyself among the number, denounce the old world tyrants—the Sultan trampling on his dependencies—the Austrian Despot and his crafty Metternich chaining Italy above the grave of her ancient liberties."

Whittier, while editing *The Pennsylvania Freeman,* 1838-1840, refused to discuss in the columns of his paper other subjects than those, to which the paper was devoted, and used the following example to illustrate his point:

"When Anthony of Bourbon, during the French King's minority, held the regency of France, he informed the Danish Ambassador that he hoped in a short time to procure a free passage for the gospel throughout France. The Ambassador, a zealous Lutheran, expressed his pleasure, but hoped that Luther's, not Calvin's doctrines, might pass current. 'Luther and Calvin' answered the Regent, 'agree in forty points, and differ but in one. Let those therefore that follow the tenets of those two unite their strength against the common enemy, and at better leisure, in a more convenient season, compound their own differences'."[208]

In a letter[209] to Ann E. Wendell, of Philadelphia, dated Amesbury, Mass., eighth month, 1843, our poet remarks:

"I should be heartily glad to visit Philadelphia, to sit with Cousin Ann, and discuss upon the great problems of human life and destiny, and not upon these high abstractions alone, but upon the household things, the simple, the tender and the beautiful of daily life, which 'lie scattered at the feet of man like flowers' and talk with thy mother about Luther, Melanchthon, and Pope and Cardinal, and Fathers and Councils."

In *The National Era,* February 11, 1847, is a letter dated Amesbury, Mass., first of second month 1847, in which Whittier writes of an address he has heard in Boston, given by Wilham H. Channing:

[208] Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 230.

[209] Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 279.

"I was struck by the speaker's eulogium upon a class of men who have been heretofore everywhere spoken against—the poor Anabapists of the Reformation. He claimed for them the merit of having seen clearly the truth which Luther and Calvin did not always practically admit—that Christianity was intended to bless this world as well as the next; that it discountenanced alike the spiritual despotism of the Pope, and the temporary tyranny of Protestant nobles."

In an article in *The National Era,* Washington, May 18, 1848, Whittier quotes from one of Luther's speeches:

"*The Fulfilment*—The extraordinary changes now going on in the Old World, where, to use the figure of *The London Times,* 'The States of Europe are so many ninepins, and Democracy is bowling at them,' calls to mind the strong language which *Luther* addressed to the Princes of his time:

" 'Your tyranny and insolence can no longer be endured. God will not endure it. The people cannot be hunted and driven like game as in the world's infancy. The peope shall become enlightened, and princely scourges shall fall before the people.'

"The fullness of time has come. Far more than Luther dreamed of or desired, is taking place in his own beloved Fatherland. The princely scourges are everywhere falling, everywhere the people are sovereign. 'Awake, glorious Freedom!' was the response of Ulrich von Hutten to the stirring appeal of Luther. 'By God's blessing we will assert our common liberties.' The voice of that stout knight of the Reformation, who demanded civil as well as religious freedom, sounding through the centuries, stirs the heart of Europe. The thought which struggled dimly in the minds of the German peasantry in the time of Luther, that the freemen of Christ should not be slaves of men, that without personal there could be no religious liberty, that Christianity is designed to bless this life as well as that to come, is the predominant idea of the present time. The Pope is granting Constitutions. The Austrian Despot is supplicating the forebearance of his subjects, and the 'divine right of Kings' is an exploded idea, consigned to the Limbo of Milton's *Paradise of Fools.*"

In his article on *James Nayler,*[210] Whittier says:

"Let those who would harshly judge him, or ascribe his fall to the peculiar doctrines of his sect, think of Luther, engaged in personal combat with the Devil, or conversing with him on points of theology in his bed-chamber; or of Bunyan at actual fisticuffs with the adversary; or of Fleetwood and Vane and Harrison millenium-mad, and making preparations for an earthly reign of King Jesus. It was a reign of intense religious excitement. Fanaticism had become epidemic."

In an article on *William Leggett,*[211] he speaks of Leggett's reply to an attack on him by Tammany Hall for his abolition sentiments:

"Its tone was calm, manly, self-relying; the language of one who, having planted his feet hard down on the rock of principle, stood there like Luther at Worms, because he 'could not otherwise'."

Our poet quotes the famous words of Luther again in an article, *The Training:*[212]

". . . Luther closing his speech at Worms with the sublime emphasis of his 'Here stand I; *I cannot otherwise;* God help me'; Wm. Penn defending the rights of Englishmen from the bale-dock of the fleet prison, . . . —all these, and such as these, now help me to form the loftier ideal of Christian heroism."

In the poem, *To George B. Cheever,*[213] Whittier says of Luther:

"Mightier was Luther's Word
Than Sickingen's mailed arm or Hutten's sword!"

And in an article on Religious Beliefs:

"We agree with Luther that 'the Scriptures are not to be understood, but by that very spirit by which they were written'."[214]

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[210] *Prose Works,* Vol. II, Riverside Edition, page 74.
[211] *Prose Works,* Vol. II, Riverside Edition, page 200.
[212] *Prose Works,* Vol. I, Riverside Edition, page 348.
[213] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 198.
[214] Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 264.

Another reference in Whittier's poems is in *Amy Wentworth*:[215]

"Let us keep sweet,
If so we may, our hearts, even while we eat
The bitter harvest of our own device
And half a century's moral cowardice,
As Nurnberg sang while Wittenberg defied,
And Kranach painted by his Luther's side;"

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

In various letters, Whittier shows his attitude toward Prussia as that of the deepest sympathy. The following unpublished letter[216] to Charles Sumner does not state the year, but it is written before the war and shows Whittier's strong disapproval of the usurpations of Napoleon III of France:

"Amesbury 20th, 8 mo.

"My dear Friend:

"I wish I felt able to take the cars to Boston and hear thy speech this evening. I was glad to hear of the meeting, although I greatly fear it is too late to be of any service to poor Hungary. She will be crushed under the avalanche of Russian barbarism, and the sympathies and congratulations of the friends of freedom abroad will be to her 'like delicacies upon a mouth shut up or as meats set upon a grave'.

"I wish, either in resolutions or speeches, the disgraceful conduct of that miserable disciple of Calhoun democracy and Papal infallibility, R. Walsh, could be noticed as it deserves. Through him our government commits itself in favor of the Kings and Princes of Europe in their barbarous measures for suppressing the growth of free principles. We are made parties to the usurpations of Bonaparte the Less, the bombardment of Rome—the bloody rule of Naples—the atrocious barbarities of Austria and Russia in Hungary. The miserable fellow would be nothing by himself, but as an official of our government, he can do a good deal to disgrace us.

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[215] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems*, page 80.

[216] Letter in possession of the Harvard Library.

"What will become of the Roman and Prussian exiles, driven from Malta and Switzerland? Cannot our government, in case they wish to emigrate to this country, secure their safe passage to parts for that purpose?

. . . . . .

"Affectionately thy friend,

"J. G. WHITTIER."

In a letter[217] to Lydia Maria Child, August 3, 1870, Whittier says:

"My deepest sympathies are with Prussia in the impending contest. What a monster Napoleon is! Was he born without moral sense? Has he no conscience, no remorse? There is something weird and dreadful about him. The prayers of all the priests of Rome are with him; but the cry of innocent blood, rising to heaven, will drown them. I think he is rushing upon his fate."

In an article on *The Unity of Italy*[218] read at the great meeting held in New York in January, 1871, in celebration of the freedom of Rome and complete unity of Italy, Whittier expressed again the thought that Napoleon had brought his fate upon himself:

"My sympathies are with Julves Favre and Leon Gambetta in their efforts to establish and sustain a republic in France, but I confess that the investment of Paris by King William seems to me the logical sequence of the bombardment of Rome by Oudinot. And is it not a significant fact that the terrible chassepot, which made its first bloody experiment upon the half-armed Italian patriots without the walls of Rome, has failed in the hands of French republicans against the inferior needle-gun of Prussia?"

In another unpublished letter[219] to Charles Sumner, dated Amesbury 10th, 9 mo. 1870, Whittier says:

"Dear Sumner:

"I was glad to see thy handwriting on the margin of a paper sent me a day or two ago. The incident to which it refers is a

[217] *Life of John Greenleaf Whittier*, by F. H. Underwood, 1891, page 280.

[218] *Prose Works* of John Greenleaf Whittier, Vol. III, page 230.

[219] Letter in Harvard Library.

striking one. Can nothing be done by our government to bring about peace between Prussia and France? Now that Napoleon is dethroned, I hope the Prussians will be as magnanimous as they have proved themselves brave. My sympathies have been with them up to this time."

In the poem on the French statesman, *Thiers*,[220] Whittier pays a high tribute to his successful efforts in bringing about peace at the conclusion of the war:

"He, when around the walls of Paris rung
The Prussian bugle like the blast of doom,
And every ill which follows unblest war
Maddened all France from Finistère to Var,
The weight of fourscore from his shoulders flung,
And guided Freedom in the path he saw
Lead out of Chaos into light and law, etc."

Whittier refers to the statesman who was instrumental in founding the Liberal Imperial Party, and who most strongly supported Bismarck in his anti-Papal policy—Prince Hohenlohe—in his article on *Magicians and Witch Folk*:[221]

"He found the old man sitting in his plain parlor in the simplest garb of his sect,—grave, thoughtful, venerable,—a drab-coated Prince Hohenlohe."

Child Life.

Whittier edited, with the aid of Lucy Larcom, two books of selections for children; the first, *Child Life*, a collection of poems by various authors, was published in 1871; and the second, a companion volume, *Child Life in Prose*, was published in 1873.

Through Mrs. James Fields we know two of the books they used in collecting this material:[222]

"He became interested one morning in a plan proposed to him for making a collection of poems for young people, one which he finally completed with the aid of Lucy Larcom.

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[220] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems*, page 210.

[221] *Prose Works*, Vol. I, page 405.

[222] Mrs. J. T. Fields in *Whittier, Notes on His Life and Friendships*, page 52. New York, 1893.

"We got down from the shelf Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe* and looked it over together.

"*Annie of Tharaw* was a great favorite of his."

In an unpublished letter[223] to Mrs. Fields, dated Boston 18, 4 mo. 1871, Whittier says:

"I wanted to see thee, and consult thee about the little collection of children's poems. We found some nice pieces in *Poets and Poetry of Europe,*[224] and some more in the *Poets' Hours,* which I herewith return with many thanks. We have got together a sufficient amount of material; my only fear is, that there are some better things which have escaped our notice."

In the introduction to the book of poems, *Child Life,* the author says:[225]

"The editor has availed himself of selections from the folk-songs and ballads of Continental Europe."[226]

And again in speaking of the sort of stories given to children he remarks:

"In Hauff's *Fortunes of Fairylore*[227] the heroine complains, to her mother fancy, that the world has grown uncomfortably wise, and that the very children who used to love her so dearly have become too knowing for their tender age, and, no longer capable of wonder, laugh at her stories and turn their backs on her. Poor Fairylore is doubtless justified in her complaint—the schoolmaster and newspaper are busy with their disenchantments."

The reference is here to Wilhelm Hauff's *Märchen als Almanach, Einleitung.*[228]

The selections in the book taken from the German are:

(1) *Sleep, Baby, Sleep.* From the German, page 18. A translation of the well-known *Volkslied:*

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[223] Letter in possession of Mrs. J. T. Fields, Boston.

[224] *Poets and Poetry of Europe,* edited by H. W. Longfellow.

[225] Cambridge Edition of *Child Life,* published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

[226] Introduction, page vii.

[227] Introduction, page viii.

[228] See Hauffs *Werke* herausgegeben von Dr. C. Flaischlen. Bd. II, S. 4.

Schlaf, Kindlein, Schlaf.
Der Vater hüt't die Schaf, u. s. w.

(2) *Winter.* From the German, page 98, is a translation of *Ein Lied, hinter'm Ofen zu singen,* by Matthias Claudius, which begins: "Der Winter ist ein rechter Mann."[229]

(3) *Greediness Punished.* From the German of Rückert, page 130, is a translation of Friedrich Rückert's poem *Bestrafte Ungenügsamkeit.*[230]

(4) *The Toy of the Giant's Child.* From the German of Chamisso, page 131.
This is the well-known poem by Adelbert von Chamisso, *Das Riesenspielzeug.*[231]

(5) *Charley, the Story Teller.* From the German, page 204.

(6) *Sunday Morning.* From the German of Hebel, page 210.
This is the poem *Sonntagsfrühe,*[232] by Johann Peter Hebel, and is the same translation as that given by Longfellow in his *Poets and Poetry of Europe.*

(7) *Falling to Sleep.* From the German, page 261.
This is doubtless a paraphrase of the poem *Gute Nacht,*[233] by Emanuel Geibel.

(8) *Among Green Pleasant Meadows.* From the German of Herder, page 109.
This translation is in Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe* under the title of *A Legendary Ballad,* and is taken from Herder's poem, *Die Geschwister.*[234]

In the preface to *Child Life in Prose,* Whittier quotes two passages from Jean Paul Richter:

"Not irreverently has Jean Paul said: 'I love God and little children. Ye stand nearest to Him, ye little ones'."

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[229] Matthias Claudius *Werke,* Hamburg, 1819. Bd. II, S. 87.
[230] See Rückerts *Poetische Werke,* Frankfurt am M., 1882. Bd. II, S. 58.
[231] See Kluges *Auswahl deutscher Gedichte,* Altenburg, 1896, S. 35.
[232] See Kluges *Auswahl deutscher Gedichte,* S. 195.
[233] See Kluges *Auswahl deutscher Gedichte,* S. 96.
[234] See Herders *Sämmtliche Werke,* herausgegeben von B. Suphan, Berlin, 1884. Bd. XXVIII, page 220.

And again:

" 'I can bear', said Richter, 'to look upon a melancholy man, but I cannot look upon a melancholy child. Fancy a butterfly crawling like a caterpillar, with his four wings pulled off!' "[235]

Of Goethe's "child figure", Mignon, in *Wilhelm Meister,* Whittier says in this preface:

"How sweetly, amidst the questionable personages who give small occasion of respect for manhood or womanhood as they waltz and wander through the story of *Wilhelm Meister,* rises the child figure of Mignon!"[236]

From German authors the book contains the following selections:

(1) *Amrie and the Geese*—Berthold Auerbach, page 131. This is an anecdote taken from Auerbach's *Barfüssele.*

(2) *Star Dollars*—Grimm's *Household Tales,* page 192, is the well-known Märchen, *Die Sternthaler.*

(3) *The Story Without an End*—German of Carove, page 229. This is *Das Märchen ohne Ende,* by F. W. Carove.

(4) *Memories of Child Life.* By Jean Paul Richter (one of the great authors of Germany), page 271. is taken from a translation of *Aus Jean Pauls Leben,* written by himself.

Max Muller.

The Brewing of Soma.

This poem, written in 1872, was suggested to Whittier by a translation of the eminent German scholar and orientalist, Professor Friedrich Max Müller. Whittier heads his poem with a quotation[237] from Professor Müller's translation:

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[235] Jean Paul Richters *Werke,* Berlin, Hempel, Th. 54-60, *Levana,* Kap. II, S. 58.

[236] Preface, page 6.

[237] Headnote to Whittier's poem, *The Brewing of Soma.* Cambridge Edition of *Poems,* page 449.

"These libations mixed with milk have been prepared for Indra: offer Soma to the drinker of Soma." *Vashista,* translated by Max Müller.

Whittier speaks again of Müller in an article on *Lydia Maria Child:*[238]

"If in her desire to do justice to the religions of Budha and Mohammed, in which she has been followed by Maurice, Max Müller, and Dean Stanley, she seems at times to dwell upon the best and overlook the darker features of these systems, her concluding reflections should vindicate her from the charge of undervaluing the Christian faith, or of lack of reverent appreciation of its founder."

Freiligrath.

In 1877, the English and American residents of Stuttgart proposed to celebrate the first anniversary of the death of the German poet Freiligrath. Robert S. Rantoul, of Salem, Mass., who was at that time staying at Stuttgart, wrote to Whittier inviting him to contribute verses for the occasion; Longfellow was asked to do the same, but the invitations reached them too late to comply to the request. Both poets, however, sent letters of appreciation and money for the monument, which was to be erected in Stuttgart in honor of the dead poet. Whittier's letter[239] is written from Oak Knoll, Danvers, Mass.:

"3rd mo., 5, 1877.

My dear Friend:

I have been absent from Amesbury for some time and thy letter has just reached me, too late I fear for the occasion to which I refer. I would gladly, were I able, send a word for the anniversary; as it is, I beg the privilege of contributing my mite for the proposed monument to the memory of the poet-patriot Freiligrath. I need scarcely say that I have been in hearty sympathy with him, as the foremost liberal poet of his time. In

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[238] *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, Vol. II, page 293.

[239] *Personal Reminiscences of the Poet Whittier,* by R. S. Rantoul. Pub. of Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., 1901. Vol. 37, page 145. The original of this letter is in the Essex Institute.

the dark days of our anti-slavery struggle, his brave words for universal freedom have cheered and strengthened me.

Pay for me twenty dollars ($20) for the monument, and advise me where and with whom I can deposit the sum at Salem.

The bells are ringing in the new Republican President Rutherford Hayes, in whose cabinet the German born Carl Schurz has a place. His inaugural is a brief but noble document, and we hope excellent things from him.

Always thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER."

A letter[240] of thanks to the Committee for the Memorial reads as follows:

"Stuttgart und Cannstatt, 4. November 1877.

Verehrlichtem Comité behufs der Freiligrath Feier für englischsprechende Bewohner von Stuttgart und Umgebung.

Hochgeehrte Herren!

Indem wir im Namen des Comités für Errichtung eines Denkmals über dem Grabe Ferdinand Freiligraths für den uns gütigst übermachten Erlös aus der von Ihnen veranstalteten Freiligrath-Feier unseren verbindlichsten Dank aussprechen, können wir uns nicht versagen, Ihnen zugleich im Auftrage unseres Comités wie im Namen der von dem Comité vertretenen Verehrer des Dichters unsere dankbare Anerkennung für die schönen Bemühungen darzubringen, mit denen Sie, hochgeehrte Herren, unsere Absichten unterstützt und dem Andenken eines zweien Nationen theueren und edlen Dichtergeistes eine erhebende und unseren Herzen doppelt wohlthuende Huldigung dargebracht haben.

Sie haben gleichzeitig die Güte gehabt uns wertvolle Beiträge von den beiden amerikanischen Dichtern Longfellow und Whittier zu übermachen. Indem wir Ihnen auch hiefür danken, erlauben wir uns die ergebenste Bitte, dass Sie, hochgeehrte Herren, gütigst den beiden edlen Gebern unseren tiefstgefühlten Dank und die Versicherung kundgeben wollten, dass eine Gabe von so

[240] Original manuscript in Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

ruhmvollem und gefeiertem Ursprung in unseren Herzen einen vollen Wiederhall gefunden und uns in unseren Bestrebungen wesentlich gekräftigt und ermutigt hat. Wir erlauben uns die Mittheilung anzufügen, dass voraussichtlich die Herstellung des Denkmals unverweilt in Angriff genommen werden wird. Genehmigen Sie den Ausdruck unserer ausgezeichnetsten Hochachtung, womit wir die Ehre haben zu zeichnen im Namen des Freiligrath-Comités in Stuttgart und Canstatt.

Prof. Julius Klaiber, *Vorsitzender;*
Carl Hartenstein, *Kassier.*"

"Das Freiligrath-Comité in Canstatt und Stuttgart bescheinigt hierdurch dem verehrlichen Comité behufs der Freiligrath-Feier für englischsprechende Bewohner von Stuttgart und Umgebung den Beitrag von M. 183.36 und durch dasselbe Comité als Beiträge von den amerikanischen Dichtern, Longfellow und Whittier, M. 285.94, zusammen M. 469.30, mit Worten: vierhundert neunundsechzig Mark dreissig Pfennig baar empfangen zu haben.

Cannstatt, 5. November 1877.

Der Kassier des Freiligrath-Comités,
Carl Hartenstein."

Mr. Rantoul, in a speech,[241] on the death of the translator Charles F. Brooks, before the Essex Institute, June, 1883, speaks of Whittier's admiration for Freiligrath and calls the latter the Whittier of the Teuton race.

Eduard Engel says of him: "Wollen wir für Whittier unter europäischen Dichtern seinesgleichen suchen, so wüssten wir nur Victor Hugo oder Freiligrath zu nennen."[241a]

The Two Elizabeths.

This poem was published first in *The Atlantic Monthly,* July, 1885.

Whittier composed the poem[242] for the occasion of the unveiling of the bust of Elizabeth Fry in the fifth month, 1885,

[241] *Bulletin of Essex Institute,* Vol. XV, pages 26-28.

[241a] *Gesch. der Lit. Nord-Amerikas,* von E. Engel, Leipzig, S. 20-24.

[242] *Proceedings at the unveiling of a bust of Elizabeth Fry, at the Friends' School, Providence, R. I.,* Ninth Month 29, 1885. Note to page 8.

at the Friends School, Providence, R. I., expecting that it would be read then and appear in *The Atlantic Monthly* in the seventh month. The bust was unexpectedly retained several months at the Royal Academy, in London, and the publication of the poem could not be prevented.

Augustine Jones, a friend of the poet, writes: "The sympathy of Whittier with the Broad Church of Humanity, is disclosed in few, if any, of his writings, more vividly than in this discriminative poem. One of the Elizabeths is a Catholic philanthropist, reared at the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the midst of the superstitions of her church, with more legends connected with her career than encircle the annals of any other person since her time.

"The other Elizabeth, a philanthropist, also, was fostered six hundred years later in the Society of Friends, which has no ritual, no pomp, or canonization of saints; and is bereft of all ecclesiastical magnificance, as completely as the religion announced at Jacob's well. The religious development of these women was as diverse and irreconcilable as can well be conceived; yet these are the great twin sisters divinely impelled to the same service of love. Whittier had given the strength of his life to downtrodden humanity. Who better than he could discern the unanimity of purpose and overmastering love which dominated the Elizabeths? Both the contrast and unity between the two characters makes for each of them a brilliant setting in the poem."[243]

Whittier divides his poem[244] into two parts, and heads the first with the year 1207 (the birth of St. Elizabeth), and tells in the poem of her saintly life and work; then under the year 1780, (the birth of Elizabeth Fry[245]) he gives an account of her work.

The poet's tribute to St. Elizabeth begins:

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[243] *The Two Elizabeths,* by Augustine Jones. Reprinted from the *American Friend* of Eleventh Month 8, 1900. Page 7.

[244] Whittier's *Poems,* Cambridge Edition, page 134.

[245] Elizabeth Fry, 1780-1845, was born at Earlham, England, and was a member of the Society of Friends. She was early impressed with the gospel of truth. At twenty-nine she followed the inward voice which called her to

A. D. 1207.

"Amidst Thuringia's wooded hills she dwelt,
A high-born princess, servant of the poor,
Sweetening with gracious words the food she dealt
To starving throngs at Wartburg's blazoned door."

Of the English St. Elizabeth Whittier says:

A. D. 1780.

"Slow ages passed: and lo! another came,
An English matron, in whose simple faith
Nor priestly rule nor ritual had claim,
A plain, uncanonized Elizabeth."

The last verse pays a tribute to both lives:

"United now, the Briton and the Hun,
Each, in her own time, faithful unto death,
Live sister souls! in name and spirit one,
Thuringia's saint and our Elizabeth!"

The Brown Dwarf of Ruegen.

In a note[246] to the poem; Whittier says: "The ballad appeared first in *St. Nicholas,*[247] whose young readers were advised, while smiling at the absurd superstition, to remember that bad companionship and evil habits, desires, and passions are more to be dreaded now than the Elves and Trolls who frightened the children of the past ages."

The poet says also: "The hint of this ballad is found in Arndt's *Märchen,* Berlin, 1816."[248]

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the ministry and experienced much peace accordingly. She was interested in the poor and needy around her and ministered to their spiritual and bodily wants. She is best known for her noble work in the prisons of England. The condition in the English prisons at that time was appalling. She travelled through the country from place to place, finding out conditions in the prisons, and conferring with the authorities, and interesting the women to form associations to carry out the needed reforms. Her success was due mainly to her own personal influence and exertions.

[246] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 138.

[247] The poem appeared in the January number of *St. Nicholas,* 1888, with illustrations by E. H. Blashfield.

[248] Arndts *Märchen,* Th. I. was published by Georg Reimer, Berlin, 1818, Th. II. 1843.

Among Whittier's books in Amesbury, Mass., is a copy of *The Fairy Mythology of Various Countries,* by Thomas Keightly, London, 1850, containing the story, *The Isle of Rügen,*[249] taken from Arndt's *Märchen.* As Whittier could not read Arndt in the original, it is more than likely that the chapter on John Dietrich, in this book, was his source. He has, however, varied it somewhat from the story in Keightly, which follows closely that given by Arndt in his Märchen called *Die Neun Berge bei Rambin.*

In Whittier's poem, Elsbeth wanders out among the Nine Hills and is stolen by the Trolls. Five years she is mourned in vain, when her playmate, John Dietrich, the Amtmann's son, resolves to find her. He watches among the Hills until he sees the little people dancing in the moonlight:

"And when their gay-robed leader tossed up his cap of red,
Young Dietrich caught it as it fell, and thrust it on his head.

"The troll came crouching at his feet and wept for lack of it.
'Oh give me back my magic cap, for your great head unfit!'

" 'Nay', Dietrich said, 'the Dwarf who throws his charmëd cap
away,
Must serve its finder at his will, and for his folly pay.

" 'You stole my pretty Lisbeth, and hid her in the earth;
And you shall ope the door of glass and let me lead her forth'."

The dwarf is forced to obey and leads Dietrich to their "elfin underland", where he finds Lisbeth very pale and sorrowful, serving the dwarfs at table, and longing for the green fields of Rügen. Dietrich's heart is touched at the sight of her pale face and he says:

. . . " 'For five long years this tender Christian maid
Has served you in your evil world, and well must she be paid!'

" 'Haste!—hither bring me precious gems, the richest in your
store;
Then when we pass the gate of glass, you'll take your cap once
more.'

[249] *Fairy Mythology,* by Thomas Keightly, pages 174-205.

"No choice was left the baffled Troll, and, murmuring, he obeyed,
And filled the pockets of the youth and apron of the maid.

"They left the dreadful underland and passed the gate of glass,
They felt the sunshine's warm caress, they trod the soft, green
grass.

"And when, beneath, they saw the Dwarf stretch up to them his
brown
And crooked claw-like fingers, they tossed this red cap down."

In the original Märchen, Dietrich is told by a cowherd the story of the brown dwarfs and of their dance-night on St. John's day. He is curious and goes out on the Nine Hills to watch for the tiny dancers, but falls asleep and when twelve o'clock strikes, the little people come out, and in their glee fling their brown caps in the air. John, who is wakened by their merriment, gets hold of one of the caps and keeps it. He goes with the Trolls underground and is amused by all he sees. He finds there his old playmate, Elsbeth, who had come into their power by falling asleep on the hills, and who is obliged to serve the dwarfs fifty years, as do all the children stolen from the upper world. John is attracted to the little maid and they spend many happy moments together, until he becomes eighteen and she sixteen. John has enjoyed his life underground, but Elsbeth has always thought sorrowfully of the life outside the hills. She becomes more and more melancholy in the thought that she must serve the dwarfs so long. John cannot see his friend so sad, so he begs the Trolls to let them go, but all in vain. Finally, after many unsuccessful attempts, he devises a means of escape. He finds a toad and puts it into a basket as if it were a precious jewel and brings it before the little people, who are curious to see the contents; but when he opens it, and they see the toad, they fall to the ground in horror.

John tells them he will take the creature out of their sight, if they bring him three wagonloads of gold and jewels. This they do, and Dietrich then buries the toad and makes his escape with Elsbeth, before the Trolls have time to recover from their fright.

LITERARY REFERENCES TO GERMAN AUTHORS AND WORKS.

Here are included references, in Whittier's works or letters, to German subjects which have not been discussed in the previous chapters. These references show in many cases his opinions of the works or authors in question, at other times they are merely references:

Walther von der Vogelweide.

"How pleasant to think of the Arab and his horse, whose friendship has been celebrated in song and romance. Of Vogelwied, the Minnesinger, and his bequest to the birds."[250]

Hans Sachs.

Whittier, who as a young man, worked for a time at the shoe-making trade, was naturally interested in Hans Sachs, the shoemaker-poet of Nürnberg. He says of him in *The Shoemaker*:[251]

"Thy songs, Hans Sachs, are living yet,
In strong and hearty German."

Melancthon.

"But abhoring, as we must, persecution under whatever pretext it is employed, we are not, therefore, to conclude that all persecutors were bad and unfeeling men. . . . It would not be very difficult for us to imagine a tender-hearted Inquisitor of this stamp, stifling his weak compassion for the shrieking wretch under bodily torment by his strong pity for souls in danger of perdition from the sufferer's heresy. We all know with what satisfaction the gentle-spirited Melancthon heard of the burning of Servetus, and with what zeal he defended it."[252]

Friedrich von Logau.

An article by Whittier on *The Scottish Reformers*[253] is introduced by a translation from Logau:

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[250] *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, Vol. III, page 243. Article on *Our Dumb Relations.*

[251] Whittier's *Poems,* Cambridge Edition, page 357.

[252] *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, Vol. II, page 128. Article on *John Roberts.*

[253] *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, Vol. II, page 417.

"The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds
he all."[254]

Wieland.

Whittier does not mention the poet, Wieland, but he knew and criticised at length Charles Brockden Brown's novel *Wieland,*[255] which bears, perhaps not merely by chance, the name of the German poet. He mentions the book also in his Review[256] of *Retribution,* by Mrs. Southworth: "But as a whole we do not hesitate to say that it is worthy of a place with Brockden Brown's *Wieland,* etc."

Lavater.

Whittier expresses himself vigorously against the philosophy of the physiognomist, Lavater, and his school:

"I hate your professed physiognomist—the man who reads at a glance the character of his neighbor—decyphering with ease the mystic meaning of the human features—those heroglyphics of the Almighty. I abhor the idea of a man's carrying his autobiography in his visage—the melancholy history of a love adventure in the droop of an eye-lid, or the prominence of a cheek bone, or a tale of disappointment in the wrinkles of a forehead. I condemn *in toto* the systems of Lavater, Gall, and Spurzheim.[257] 'Tis an unmanly method of coming at one's private history. The beautiful and lordly—those who carry an eternal letter of recommendation in their countenance—may, perhaps, demur to my opinions. Let them. Phrenology may have been a blessing to them; it has been the devil and all to me.

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[254] Logau's verses are:

"Gottes Mühlen mahlen langsam,
Mahlen aber trefflich klein,
Ob aus Langmut er sich säumet,
Bringt mit Schärf' er alles ein."

[255] *Whittier's Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, Vol. III. Article on *Fanaticism,* pages 392-395.

[256] *National Era,* September 20, 1849.

[257] In the *Haverhill Iris,* November 24, 1832, edited by Whittier, is the notice of the death of Dr. Gaspard F. Spurzheim, the distinguished phrenologist and philosophical lecturer, "who died amongst us". "A eulogy was pronounced by Professor Follen of the Theological Institution of Harvard."

"As Balak said of old unto Balaam,—so I say unto all, who, like myself have been martyrs to the sciences of bumps, organs, and facial angles. . . . Physiognomy and Phrenology—'Come, help me to curse them.' Nay, smile not at my vehemence, fair reader; those least of all can appreciate my feelings. As thou bendest over my page, with thine eye shedding a finer light across it than ever brightened the illuminated scroll of a monkish legend—with thy dark tresses ever and anon lightly sweeping its margin, and half-shadowing the delicate fingers which enclose it, the veriest mocker at humanity would bless thee, and the austere St. Francis, at the first glimpse of thee, would have forsaken his bride of snow. But I, marked and set apart from my fellows, the personification of ugliness, in whose countenance every modern Lavater discovers all that is vile and disagreeable and odious; shunned by the lovelier and gentler sex, and suspected and laughed at by my own; in the name of all that is sensitive, why should I not murmur at the practice of an art which has undone me, at the illustration of a silence which has shut the door of human sympathy upon me!"[258]

The Travels of Munchausen.

A New Year's Address to the Patrons of The Essex Gazette.[260]

"And bridges, now in gloomy grandeur straddle
The chainless tide, that rolls itself below;
But, like a horse, vex'd with an extra saddle,
Old Merrimack threatens with an overthrow,
That famous one, which beats Munchausen's[261] hollow,
Since but the sight of't costs us half a dollar."

In a letter[262] to his publisher Fields, Whittier says: "Whatever poetical fancies garnered up in more genial weather may be

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[258] *New England Magazine,* August, 1832. Article, *The Nervous Man,* by John Greenleaf Whittier, page 97.

[260] *Essex Gazette,* Haverhill, Mass., January 5, 1825.

[261] *Wunderbare Reisen zu Wasser und Lande des Freyherrn von Münchhausen* was published in England, in English, by the German, Professor Rudolph Erich Raspe, 1786, and was translated by Bürger, the following year, into German.

[262] Pickard's *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier,* page 378.

left within me, they are frozen up before reaching my finger tips, like the tunes in Munchausen's horn, and I cannot, like the veracious hunter, get up a fire sufficient to thaw them out."

German Fable.

Our poet was familiar with other stories of fable and folk-lore: .

A Legend of the Lake.

"And the cares you left behind you
Come hunting along your track,
As Blue-Cap in German fable
Rode on the traveller's pack,—"[263]

Buerger.

Whittier refers to Bürger's *Lenore* in his *Magicians and Witch Folk.* "Of that ride Bürger might have written a counterpart to his ballad:

"Tramp, tramp, along the shore they ride,
Splash, splash, along the sea."[264]

Lessing.

In 1853, Whittier wrote a letter[265] to his publisher Fields introducing Lucy Larcom's work to his notice: "I enclose what I regard as a very unique and beautiful little book in MS. I don't wish thee to take my opinion, but the first leisure hour thee has, read it, and I am sure thee will decide it is exactly the thing for publication. . . . The little prose poems are unlike anything in our literature, and remind me of the German writer, Lessing."

Lessing, Krummacher, Herder.

Review,[266] by Whittier, of *Similitudes from the Ocean and Prairie* (Boston: Jewett & Co.):

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[263] Cambridge Edition of *Poetical Works,* page 513.

[264] Vol. 1, *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, page 411. This is from Walter Scott's translation. Scott has "land" instead of "shore".

[265] *Whittier, Notes on His Life and Friendships,* by Mrs. J. T. Fields.

[266] *National Era,* December 22, 1853.

"Like Kriemacher,[267] Lessing, and Herder—and often with equal success—the writer has adopted the method of imparting the lessons of truth and wisdom, which forms one of the most attractive features of Mohammedan literature, and which lends such picturesque beauty to the old Hebrew poetry and the parables of the Divine Teacher."

Nicolai.

In the *New England Magazine,* April 18, 1831, the editor writes, at the end of a story, published in its pages, *The Spectre Smitten:*

"The Spectre which occasioned the fright which produced delirium, may be considered as nothing more than the phantom of an over-excited imagination,—like those which haunted Nicolai—which puzzled the pious head of Wesley; and shook the philosophic nerves of Swedenborg."

In the *New England Review,* March 21, 1831, a letter from the editor to the friend in his editorial chair, referring to a number of the *Hartford Times,* says:

"How it strayed into our quiet community, I know not, but it looked among its more amiable companions like the Demon of Nicolai amidst the gay assemblies of the Prussian capital."

Schiller.

That Whittier was familiar with Coleridge's translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein,* we know from an article on *Labor—the French Revolution,* in *The National Era,*[268] in which he says:

"We accord entirely with the philosophy of reform indicated in these lines of Coleridge's *Wallenstein:*

"Straight forward goes
The lightnings path, and straight the fearful path
Of the cannon ball. Direct it flies, and rapid,
Shattering that it may reach, and shattering what it reaches.
My son, the road the human being travels—
That on which blessing comes and goes—doth follow
The river's course, the valley's playful windings—

[267] Misspelling for Krummacher.

[268] *National Era,* April 27, 1848.

Curves round the corn fields and the hill of vines,
Honoring the holy bounds of property!
And thus secure, though late, leads to its end."

In the Miscellany column of *The Essex Gazette,*[269] of which Whittier was editor, appeared the translation, *Duke Alva's Breakfast at the Castle of Rudolstadt,* translated from the papers of Schiller for *The Portsmouth Journal.*

Alexander von Humboldt.

In an article on *The Abolitionists,*[270] Whittier refers the reader, among other books, to Humboldt's *Travels,* to confirm his statement that,—"Wherever, whether in Europe, the East and the West Indies, South America, or in our own country, a fair experiment has been made of the comparative expense of free and slave labour, the result has uniformly been favorable to the former".

Jean Paul Richter, Krummacher.

In an article on *Nathaniel Peabody Rogers*[271] he writes:

"The admirers of Jean Paul Richter might find much of the charm and variety of the 'Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces' in this newspaper collection."

In *The Middlesex Standard,*[272] the editor prints a short narrative called *The Wasted Flower,* by Rotha, and remarks:

"The following from *The Lowell Offering* for last month is worthy of Krummacher or Jean Paul."

In the chapter on "The Lighting Up", in *The Stranger in Lowell,*[273] Whittier says:

"*The Lowell Offering,* which has been for the last four years published monthly in this city, consisting entirely of articles

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[269] *Essex Gazette,* November 15, 1836.

[270] *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, Vol. III, page 74.

[271] *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, Vol. II, page 238.

[272] October 31, 1844.

[273] Published by Waiter, Peirce & Company, 1845, pages 115-123. These articles first appeared in the *Essex Transcript.* In Whittier's collected works, Riverside Edition, Vol. I, page 379, *The Lighting Up,* the reference to Jean Paul is omitted.

written by females employed in the mills, has attracted much attention and obtained a wide circulation.

"This may be in part owing to the novel circumstances of its publication; but it is something more and better than a mere novelty. In its volumes may be found sprightly delineations of home-scenes and characters, highly wrought imaginative pieces, tales of genuine pathos and humor, and sweet fairy stories and fables, reminding the reader, at times, of Jean Paul."

Holthaus.

In *The Middlesex Standard* for November 14, 1844, of which Whittier was editor, appears:

"The following review of a singular and interesting book we copy from *The London Non-Conformist: Wanderings of a Journeyman Tailor Through Europe and the East, During the Years 1824 to 1840,* by P. D. Holthaus. Journeyman Tailor from Werdohle, Westphalia. Translated from the German by W. Howitt. Longman & Company, 1844."

Auerbach.

An unpublished letter[274] from Whittier to Mrs. J. F. Fields, dated Amesbury, 12 mo. 17, 1861, says:

"Tell J. T. F. I have read Auerbach's story of *Gellert* and find it very touching and beautiful, deserving all he said of it."

History and Historical Characters.

Teuton.

In *Child Songs*:[275]

"Heard in the Teuton's household songs,
And folk-lore of the Finn,
Where'er to holy Christmas hearths
The Christ-child enters in!"

Anabaptists of Münster.

Article on *The World's End*:[276]

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[274] Original letter in possession of Mrs. J. T. Fields, Boston.

[275] Cambridge Edition of *Poetical Works*, page 454.

[276] *Prose Works*, Vol. I, page 422. Article on *The World's End.*

"Think of the wild enthusiasts of Münster, verily imagining that the millenial reign had commenced in their mad city!"

Sack of Magdeburg.

Article on *Indian Civilization*:[277]

"What Indian raid has been more dreadful than the Sack of Magdeburg, the massacre of Glencoe, the nameless atrocities of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the murders of St. Bartholomew's day, the unspeakable agonies of the South of France under the demoniac rule of revolution!"

Battle of Lützen.

In poem *Barclay of Ury*:[278]

"Call ye Coward him who stood
Ankle deep in Lützen's blood
With the brave Gustavus?"

Tilly.

In the same poem:[279]

"Speak the word, and, master mine,
As we charged on Tilly's line,
And his Walloon lancers,
Smiting through their midst we'll teach
Civil look and decent speech
To these boyish prancers!"

Prussia.

"Laugh, Prussia, midst thy iron ranks!
Laugh, Russia, from thy Neva's banks!
Brave sport to see the fledgling born
Of freedom by its parent torn!
Safe now in Speilberg's dungeon cell,
Safe drear Siberia's frozen hell:
With Slavery's flag o'er both unrolled,
What of the New World fears the Old?"[280]

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[277] *Prose Works*, Riverside Edition, Vol. III, page 235.
[278] *Poetical Works*, page 34, Cambridge Edition.
[279] *Poetical Works*, page 34, Cambridge Edition.
[280] Cambridge Edition of *Whittier's Poems*, Poem on *Yorktown*, page 303.

Frederick the Great.

"Frederick of Prussia,[281] apostrophizing the shades of Cato and Brutus,

'Vous de la liberté héros que je révère,'

while in full exercise of his despotic power, was quite as consistent as these democratic slave-owners, whose admiration of liberty increased in exact ratio with its distance from their own plantations."

In *The New England Review,* February 7, 1831, is a notice in the column for Foreign News:

Prussia:—"It is stated that a Revolution has commenced in Prussia. An insurrection, of which the details are not yet known, has undoubtedly taken place at Königsburg. The King learned of the revolt of Warsaw, and the disturbances at Königsburg, perhaps at the same moment; 30,000 troops are marching on Luxemburg, an army advances towards Poland (Polen), and more troops are required in the ancient capital of the Kingdom."

Saxony.

In *The New England Review,* November 8, 1831, under Foreign News, is an account of a revolution in Saxony, and the abdication of King Maximilian.

In *The Essex Gazette* of 9 mo., 10, 1836, is a short notice telling of the "bigotry of the late King of Saxony".

Men of Science.

Priessnitz.

"Such we know to be the case with Dr. Holmes. He was born for the 'laughter cure', as certainly as Priessnitz was for the 'water cure', and has been quite as successful in his way, while his prescriptions are infinitely more agreeable."[282]

In *The Stranger in Lowell* he says again of the noted physician of the "water cure":

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[281] *Prose Works* of John Greenleaf Whittier, Riverside Edition, Vol. III, page 114. Article on *Democracy and Slavery.*

[282] Vol. III, *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, page 377. Article on *Mirth and Medicine.*

"But this dull, dark autumn day of thaw and rain—when the very clouds seem too pitiless and languid to storm outright, or take themselves out of the way of fair weather—wet beneath and above—reminding one of that rayless atmosphere of Dante's Third Circle, where the infernal Priessnitz administers his hydropathic torment:

> " 'A heavy, cursed and relentless drench,—
> The land it soaks is putrid.' "

Professor von Liebig.

In *The Middlesex Standard* of January 16, 1845, there is an extract quoted, as the editor says in a note, "from a speech of this distinguished gentleman at a recent dinner in Glasgow, Scotland".

MUSICIANS.

Beethoven.

In an article on *Reading for the Blind:*[283]

"What visions of beauty and sublimity passed before the inward and spiritual sight of blind Milton and Beethoven!"

REFERENCES TO GERMAN SCENERY.

Our River:[284]

> "We know that Arno's banks are fair,
> And Rhine has castled shadows,"

The Panorama:[285]

"Arch, tower, and gate, grotesquely windowed hall,
And long escarpment of half-crumbled wall,
Huger than those which, from steep hills of vine,
Stare through their loopholes on the travelled Rhine."

He refers again to the Rhine in *The Valley of the Merrimac:*[286]

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[283] Vol. III, *Prose Works,* Riverside Edition, page 236.
[284] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 224.
[285] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 324.
[286] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 485.

"And fair streams may glide where the climate is milder,
Where winter ne'er gathers and spring ever blooms,
And others may roll where the region is wilder,
Their dark waters hid in some forest's deep gloom,
Where the thunder-scath'd peaks of Helvetia are frowning,
And the Rhine's rapid waters encircle their bases,"

In Remembrance of Joseph Sturge[287] he speaks of "Holstein's birchen-belted meadows".

Whittier in German Literature.

There does not exist in German a translation of Whittier's works as a whole, but there are several good translations of some of his best known poems. Though he has not been widely known or read in Germany, he has been appreciated by a few, whom his simple and sincere words could not fail to attract. He is mentioned with appreciation in some of the German histories of American literature.

An article in *Vom Fels zum Meer*[288] about Whittier is entitled *Der Theokrit des Westen.* This article, written by M. Ottfried, in 1893, the year after the poet's death, speaks of Whittier with the highest appreciation: "In seinen Dichtungen offenbart sich eine Innigkeit und Zartheit der Empfindung, eine Wärme und Teife des Gefühles, welche abwechselnd im zartesten Schmelz der lyrischen Stimmung, wie in kerniger Kraft und Schärfe der Beredsamkeit, und in der wohlklingendsten Form zum Ausdruck kommt und an Innigkeit und Einfachheit wohl kaum übertroffen werden kann. . . . Dazu ist seine Dichtung nach Stoff, Gehalt und Ausdruck eine, wie wir schon erwähnten, spezifisch amerikanische; er ist der eigentümlichste Dichter, welchen Amerika hervorgebracht hat."

An unpublished letter[289] from Annie Fields from Barbizon, France, dated July 10, 1892, is of especial interest as showing the esteem in which Whittier was held by some of his contemporaries. She writes:

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[287] Cambridge Edition of Whittier's *Poems,* page 199.

[288] *Vom Fels zum Meer,* 12-14, J. 12. 1893. Bd. II, S. 243.

[289] The original of this letter is in the Whittier home at Amesbury, Mass.

"I am sending a paper, which has been sent me by Herman Grimm of Berlin with the request that you would kindly write your name at the end of the printed list of names. It is a tribute Germany wishes to pay to the Grand Duchess upon her silver wedding day in October, because she has taken great care of all the Goethe memorials. After writing on the paper, will you let Phoebe address an envelope to Professor Grimm, whose name is in the list with his full address, and mail your autograph signature directly to him. I fear this will seem a great bore, but I believe only two or three American names are to be added to the list—yours and Dr. Holmes. I do not know surely of any others. Professor Grimm does not write English easily and feels shy of doing so at all to persons he does not know very well."

Translations of Whittier's Poems into German.

Besides the translations already mentioned of *Maud Muller,*[a] *Barbara Frietchie,*[b] *The Song of the Slaves in the Desert,*[c] *Clerical Oppressors,*[d] and *The Homestead,*[e] there are translations of the following poems:

Snowbound, Eingeschneit,[290] by Karl Knortz.

Seed-time and Harvest, Aussaat und Ernte,[291] by Adolf Strodtman.

Winterbilder, Dämmerungsbilder,[292] and *The Cable Hymn, Der Atlantische Telegraph,*[293] all by E. O. Hopp.

The Worship of Nature, Die Andacht der Natur,[294] by Karl Elze.

Knortz in his translation of *Snowbound,* unfortunately uses hexameter instead of Whittier's iambic tetrameter, thus requir-

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[a] See page 61.

[b] See page 71.

[c] See page 40 and note 43.

[d] See page 76.

[e] See page 73.

[290] K. Knortz, *Zwei amerikanische Idyllen,* Berlin, 1879.

[291] Adolf Strodtman, *Amerikanische Anthologie,* Leipzig, page 125.

[292] *England and Amerika,* herausgegeben von Julius Hart, Minden, 1888.

[293] *Von beiden Ufern des Atlantik,* herausgegeben von W. Prinzhorn, 1894, page 418.

[294] Karl Elze, Gedichte, Halle, 1878, page 331.

ing the use of many extra words, and making the translation heavy and dragging.

For Whittier's:

"The sun that brief December day
Rose cheerless over hills of gray,
And, darkly circled, gave at noon
A sadder light than waning moon."

Knortz has:

"Matten Schein warf die Sonne am kurzen Tag im December
Über graues Gebirg; und Mittags mit dunkelm Kreise
War noch schwächer ihr Licht als das des Monds, wenn er abnimmt."

E. O. Hopp's translation of *The Cable Hymn* is well done.

"O einsame Bucht von Trinity,
O ödes Uferland,
Beug' betend dich zu Boden hie;
Hör' Gottes Ruf am Strand!"

Karl Elze's *Andacht der Natur* is not a literal translation, but a paraphrase of Whittier's *The Worship of Nature.* Elze uses the same meter as our poet, but has only nine stanzas in his poem, while Whittier has ten.

Dämmerungsbild, by E. O. Hopp, is the translation of a selection from Whittier's *Mountain Pictures,* Part II—Monadnock from Wachussett—beginning:

"So twilight deepens . . . . . ."

to:

". . . . . .
The pastoral curfew of the cowbell rung."[295]

[295] Whittier's *Poems,* Cambridge Edition, page 156.

APPENDIX.

I.

The Everlasting Taper.

By J. G. Whittier.

"Previous to the first revolution in France, in the ancient town of Amiens, among other marvels and curiosities, the stranger was certain of being edified with the holy candle, or everlasting taper—which had burned for two centuries in a dim niche of the moss-grown church,—unwasting as the brilliance of a star—shedding forever the same pale light upon the antique and fretted ceiling, and on the half ruined, but still gorgeous altar, whence a thousand masses had gone up for the quiet sleeping of those, 'whose places shall know them no more forever'.

"The stranger, while mingling with the crowd who on certain days were allowed to witness this miraculous taper, might easily learn the story of its origin. From the corpulent monk to the lean and meagre artisan, all knew it by heart. It is an old narration, and would figure well in an improved edition of the doings of *Faust's* Mephistopholes.

"Two or three centuries ago there lived in the town a carpenter by the name of Christopher,—a hard working, but poverty stricken mechanic. Finding his utmost exertions inadequate to the support of himself and family, he resolved—and there was a good deal of worldly wisdom in his resolution—to better his fortune in this life, even if by so doing he might incur the risk of faring something worse in the next. Christopher, who was a punctual attendant at church, had often heard his pastor expatiate upon the exceeding power of the Arch Enemy of Man, and upon his willingness and ability to reward with temporal riches those who yielded up to him the small matter of a mortgage of their souls. Christopher had toiled himself to a skeleton—starvation stared him in the face and worse than all, a new quality had begun to develop itself in his character, in the shape of extreme

laziness. He, therefore, upon mature deliberation, concluded to open a sort of barter trade with the Enemy, and for the peace of his body hazard that of his soul. He accordingly prayed lustily for the presence of that being, from whose neighborhood all good Catholics and devout, ask deliverance. The Devil, whether engaged in other, and more profitable speculations, or from a presentiment of ill-luck, did not readily answer the diabolical petitions of the carpenter; but tired at last with the continued importunities of Christopher, he one evening made his appearance in the shape of a respectable looking monkey.

" 'What would'st thou with me?' said the hairy Demon, 'thou hast been long calling. Speak, in what can I serve thee?'

" 'My Lord!' said Christopher bowing humbly, 'I am told that your Lordship dispenses wealth at pleasure; and should be very greatly obliged to you for a small share of your favors!'

" 'But what wilt thou give me?' interrupted the Devil.

" 'Alas—my Lord!' said Christopher, laying his hand on his heart—'I am miserably poor.'

"There was a pathos in the manner and tones of Christopher which seemed to reach even the inexorable heart of Lucifer. 'Well, well—' said he, 'there's no need of despondency—I'll give thee as much gold as thou desirest for thirty years—but after that time, having an occasion for a carpenter to make some trifling repairs in my infernal palace, I shall come myself and conduct thee thither.'

"There was so much apparent candor and frankness in this proposition that Christopher without hesitation signed the contract; and the Infernal Bargainer made a spring up the chimney and vanished. Christopher wished for a thousand pistoles and the sum was the next instant in his pockets—he continued his wishes and they were all gratified—never was Devil more punctual. In short, Christopher began to believe that the sooty dignitary had been most maliciously belied and slandered—it absolutely pained his heart to hear him abused—and he even quareled with his good friend, the Abbot, for handling his Satanic Generalship without gloves in one of his sermons.

"One night—the fifteenth anniversary of his Satanic bargain, the now wealthy and highly respected Christopher was sitting in company with a large number of friends, enjoying a social chat amidst the clatter of glasses, and the pouring of wine. Chancing to send his servant for a particular and rare wine in his cellar, he was not a little surprised at the fellow's returning without it,—and informing him that a large black man sat upon the cask, desiring to speak with the master of the house. The nerves of Christopher shook for a minute—for he thought of his infernal customer—but resolving to prepare for the worst, and knowing that but half his lease had expired—he took the bond in his hand, and boldly sallied down stairs. It was the Devil sure enough. There he sat sullenly on the wine cask——

" 'A towsy tyke, black, grim and large.' He lifted his head as Christopher entered and scowled on him through his shaggy eye-brows like the glare of a comet through a thunder cloud.

" 'I am come for you,' he said. Christopher held out his bond and laughed—the Devil mocked him.

" 'You are mistaken—'tis but fifteen years as yet—the lease is half out.'

"Again the Devil laughed, and a most infernal cacchination he made of it. 'You are mistaken,' he returned, 'fifteen years of days and fifteen years of nights, make thirty years—according to my arithmetic. So prepare yourself.'

"It was in vain that Christopher remonstrated—the Devil was inexorable. One request only the 'all pitiless demon' granted. His victim was allowed a brief half hour to bid his friends farewell. With a heavy heart Christopher ascended, and told his friends of his misfortune. All were for a moment struck dumb with grief, not for the loss of Christopher, but for the loss of his excellent wine and delicate viands. A plethoric little friar at length advised Christopher to return to the demon and ask permission to live, while the taper he held in his hand continued to burn. A drowning man will catch at straws, and Christopher obeyed. The demon for once was lenient, and like the cat playing with its victim, he allowed the carpenter a momentary respite.

Up came the wretched bargainer with his candle. The friar seized it with a sly wink of the eye, and plunged it into a basin of holy water. A virtue was forthwith imparted to the taper, which prevented its wasting; and Belzebub foiled in his purpose—outwitted by a crafty monk—retired with a noise which shook the building like an earthquake. The monk placed the taper in a niche of the church, where it burned on for ages.

Christopher lived to be a good old age—and died peaceably in his bed, leaving his immense estate to the convent of which the quick witted friar was a brother.

II.

In Whittier's Amesbury home, I found among his books the following on German subjects:

An Introduction to German Grammar. Rev. Dr. Wenderborn. London, MDCCXCVII.

Art Studies in Munich. Anna Mary Howitt. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1854.

The Sorrows of Werther. Translated from the German of Goethe. Hartford, Ct.: Andrus & Judd, 1835.

The Fairy Mythology of Various Countries. Thomas Keightly. London, 1850. (This book contained a chapter on German fairy lore.)

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Goethe's *Faust.* Translated by Charles F. Brooks. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1856.

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Sketches of and from Jean Paul Richter. London, 1859. (Presented to John G. Whittier as a mark of esteem from the author—Samuel James Capper.) Broughton, Cumberland, 4 mo., 1862.

Zschokke, *Meditations on Death and Eternity. Stunden der Andacht,* ascribed to Zschokke. Translated from the German by Frederick Rowan. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1863.

Life of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter. Elizabeth Buckingham Lee. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1864.

The Camphaner Thal and Other Writings. From the German of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1864.

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In and Around Berlin. Minerva Brace Norton. Chicago, 1889.

In the beautiful home, Oak Knoll, of Whittier's cousin Mrs. A. J. Woodman at Danvers, Mass., where the poet spent much of his time in his later life, I found among the books in his study:

The Lives, Sentiments and Sufferings of Some of the Reformers and Martyrs,—Before, Since and Independent of the Lutheran Reformation. By William Hodgson. Philadelphia, 1867.

A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. By August Wilhelm Schlegel. Translated by John Black. Revised according to the latest German edition by Rev. A. J. W. Morrison. London, 1871.

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Goethe's Correspondence with a Child. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1872.

The Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays. Phebe Earle Gibbons. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co., 1872.

Bride of the Rhine: 200 Miles in a Mosel Row-Boat. By George E. Waring. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1878.

I found also among the books of his cousins, the Misses Johnson:

Faust,—A Tragedy. By Bayard Taylor. Boston: Fields & Co., 1871. Presented to Caroline C. Johnson from John G. Whittier, 1 mo., 1st, 1886.

As Whittier gave away many of his books to his friends and relatives, and some have been sold at auction, there are doubtless many more treating of German literature that belonged to him, to which I have not had access.

III.

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Only the books are given here which were actually made use of in writing this dissertation, but not by any means all the books which were consulted.

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